UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01332125 2

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/generalhistoryof02polyuoft

33
f
(71)
I

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF POLYBIUS.

LIBRARY a.s.

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

POLYBIUS,

Translated from the Greek

BY MR. HAMPTON.

FIFTH EDITION.

VOL. II.

130733
22/1/14

OXFORD,
PRINTED BY W. BAXTER,
FOR J. PARKER; AND G. AND W. B. WHITTAKER,
AVE MARIA LANE, LONDON.
1823.

D
58
P713
1823
V. 2
cop. 2

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT LORD HENRY,

BARON OF GRAINGE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN.

My Lord,

WHEN the following Translation was first sent abroad, I endeavoured not to shelter it under any illustrious name. It was more agreeable to my sentiments, as it seemed to be more consistent also with candour and with justice, that it should find its way through the public favour to some particular patron, than that a patron, how great soever, should impose it by his single sanction on the public. The hopes, which I at that time entertained, are now fully answered; and your Lordship's approbation has stamped the last authority upon the general voice.

But not content with approving only, your Lordship has been pleased to interest in some degree your own name likewise in the future fortune of my work; by permitting me to address this new edition of it to your more immediate favour and protection. As this is an indulgence, which must on my part always demand the most grateful acknowledgments, so may I not also presume to add, that it will not perhaps detract even from your own dignity or

praise, that your Lordship, while invested with the honours, and surrounded by the cares, that belong to the first and most important of all civil offices, withdrew not your attention from those studies, which, in every polished age and country, have been regarded as the source of public wisdom as well as virtue, and as the ornament of social life.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

and most humble servant,

JAMES HAMPTON.

PREFACE.

AMONG all the historians of antiquity, whose works have been judged worthy of the admiration or regard of later times, there is none perhaps so little known as the author who is now offered to the public. The words, grave, judicious, excellent, are indeed transmitted from pen to pen, and fill the mouth of every critic. But though the name of Polybius be thus still accompanied with some mark of respect and honour, his real character has remained almost unnoticed; and his writings, even though confessed to be the object of esteem and praise, by degrees have fallen under that kind of neglect and general disregard, which usually foreruns oblivion.

It may be useful, therefore, to consider some of the chief among the causes that have concurred to produce so perverse an accident, before we attempt to lead the reader into a closer view of those many excellencies that are peculiar to the following history, and which drew towards it the attention of the wise and learned, in the enlightened times of Greece and Rome.

Amidst all the advantages which the moderns are

by many supposed to have gained against the ancients, with respect to the points of useful knowledge, and the enlargement of all true and solid science, it cannot but be allowed that, in the art of writing, the latter still maintain their rank unrivalled; and that the graces and the charms, the exactness, strength, and energy, which make severally the character of their most perfect compositions, are in vain sought for in the productions of the present age. Those, therefore, that take into their hands the remains of any celebrated name either of Greece or Rome, are in the first place accustomed to expect, if not a faultless work, yet some display at least of that superiority, which the warmest emulation has not yet been able to exceed; some beamings of those excellencies, which strike and captivate the mind, and render irresistible the words of wisdom, when delivered from the lips of beauty. It is not, therefore, judged sufficient, that the matter be grave and weighty, unless the manner also be enchanting. In vain are things disposed in order, and words made expressive of the sense. We demand likewise an arrangement that may please the fancy; and a harmony that may fill the ear. Or, on the other hand, if the style be such as rejects the embellishments of art, yet let us find in it at least that full and close conciseness, that commanding dignity, that smooth and pure simplicity, in a word, those naked graces, which outshine all ornament.

Such are the expectations of every reader, who has gained a taste sufficient to discern, that these beauties are in fact diffused through all the finished

pieces of antiquity. For though even among the ancients, there were as many different styles as authors, yet nature and sound criticism, which drew its rules from nature, referred them all to two or three general kinds, of which each had its established laws; which, while they served to instruct the writer in his art, afforded likewise a sure criterion by which his works were either censured or approved. Was it the purpose of an author to recite past events, or convey lessons of instruction, in a language simple and unadorned? It was demanded by these laws, that his style should be concise and pure; that the sentiment and diction should be closely joined; and no word admitted that did not add somewhat to the sense; that through the whole should be found a certain air of ease and freedom, mixed, however, with strength and dignity; and that, void of all appearance of study and of art, he should strive to make even negligence itself alluring. If, on the contrary, his desire was to excel in the florid kind, the same laws required, that the simple charms of nature should be adorned with all the elegance and pomp of art; that splendid images should flatter and delude the fancy; that the diction should be noble, polite, and brilliant; that every word should be dressed in smiles; and that the periods should be measured with the nicest care; be joined together in the softest bands of harmony; and flow intermingled, without obstacle or pause. Lastly, with respect to that likewise which was called the intermediate kind of composition, these laws were careful also to prescribe the proper temperament, in which the beau-

ties of the former two should meet and be united; and to adjust the mixture of the graceful and austere, the artificial and the simple, in such exact proportion, that the one never should prevail against the other, but both govern through the whole with a kind of mingled sway.

Now with regard to the author of the following work, it must freely be acknowledged that, instead of having gained any approved degree of excellence in either of these established modes of composition, he, on the contrary, revolts alike against the laws of all. Instead of charms that might allure, an energy that might command, or flowing softness that might carry with it the attention of the reader, we meet at every step some deformity which excites disgust, some coldness which offends, some obstacles which expose our patience to the severest proof. Instead of elegant simplicity, we find in every part a rustic coarseness; instead of a neat and clear conciseness, a redundance of impure expression; instead of an assemblage of kindred images, allusions remote and forced; and, in the place of a full, majestic, and continued harmony, sounds that fatigue and wound the ear, periods broken and transversed. It cannot, therefore, be greatly wondered at that many, even among the warm admirers of antiquity, should have been discouraged from perusing writings which are void of all the charms of nature and of art; which display neither elegance nor strength; neither ease nor dignity; simplicity nor majesty; but are, in every part, disfigured, either by tasteless and ill-sorted ornaments, or a negligence that is wholly destitute of grace.

But, besides the utter want of all those beauties that reign through the compositions of the other celebrated ancients, there is also in Polybius one eminent vice, which must be allowed to have been not less the cause than that now mentioned, of the almost general disregard to which his works have been condemned. This is the obscurity which is found, as we may say, in every page through all the following history. For it is not that obscurity which springs solely from those ancient manners, customs, science, discipline, which, though they were familiar to the times in which the author wrote, are unknown to the present age. Nor is it that only, on the other hand, which is caused by the ravages of years; that which never fails to attend a mangled or corrupted text. But it is such as may well be termed a congenial and inbred obscurity; an obscurity which results from complicated and embarrassed sense; from periods disordered and transposed; from useless expletives; and from words which are either destitute of any signification, or employed in one so different from their own, that even those who are most conversant in the language, are oftentimes entangled in a maze of doubt and intricacy, from which, after all their efforts, they are never able to get free.

Some other causes of lighter moment might be mentioned, as having in part contributed to produce the effect of which we are speaking[a]. But these

[a] Among these, we may just take notice of an opinion which has prevailed with many, that the following history, with respect both to the matter which it contains, and the manner

are the principal, and most important. And indeed, to say the truth, how reasonable must it be

also in which the work is executed, tends principally to promote the improvement of that knowledge which relates to war, and cannot even easily be understood, but by those only who have passed their life in camps. This prejudice, if it drew not its beginning, seems, however, to have been chiefly propagated from the pains of a lively Frenchman, who some years ago presented the author to the public in all the pomp of military dress; and under the weight of an enlarged and bulky comment, in which the sentiment now mentioned is every where industriously repeated and enforced, stifled the merit of a judicious and sensible translation. But his profession, it seems, was that of arms; and most admirably does self-love perform its part. For being first persuaded that, among all the objects of human knowledge and enquiry, there was none more noble and important than the art in which himself was skilled, he boldly mistakes, for the characteristical distinction in the original, that which was only an incidental excellence; and from thence forms, as he expresses it, the grand design of raising, upon those materials that were before him, a complete military structure; as if the purpose of this great historian had been simply to compose a body of tactics, or a treatise on the stratagems of war; and not rather to illustrate and explain the most sublime of all the subjects of civil science, which the annals of mankind can boast; to shew, "from what causes, and through what kind of government, almost the whole habitable world, in less than the course of fifty-three years, was reduced beneath the Roman yoke." But indeed the whole weakness and absurdity of this conceit will appear so manifest from the very first pages of the history, that it is not necessary to employ in this place any greater pains to expose it. I shall, therefore, only add, with respect to the opinion above-mentioned, that first, it is by no means in general true, as the favourers of this opinion are ever ready to affirm, that the description of sieges and of battles, as they occur in ancient authors, cannot easily be understood but by those only who have passed their life in camps. If, indeed, the business that is

thought that such an author should at once be abandoned to oblivion or contempt; unless, per-

here required were to weigh the difficulties, and to decide concerning the expediency or the rashness, of any military enterprise; to applaud, or to condemn, the disposition of an army in the field; to display the prudence, or to detect the errors, of a general; this would doubtless be a province which every man of letters would most willingly resign, to those whose studies and experience had qualified them in a more peculiar manner to be judges in it. But when the task, as in reading or translating, is simply to apprehend the meaning of the terms in any ancient and dead language, it is clear that this can be only done, and that in most cases it has been done effectually, by surveying the analogy of the language, examining well the context, and tracing all the various significations in which the same terms are used by different writers. Secondly, these descriptions, as they are more full and perfect, are more perspicuous also in Polybius, than those that are found in other writers. For as he had been himself employed in the exercise of arms, and had joined to a consummate skill, a long experience likewise in the art of war, he from thence was able to relate all military events with clearness and precision; to assign to every term its own proper place and peculiar sense; and to avoid that intricacy in which the historians, who have transmitted to us an account of the Roman wars, are frequently entangled. In the last place we may remark, that the intention of the author in that very comment of which we have been speaking, was not, as is commonly supposed, to illustrate or remove the difficulties of the original, but chiefly to accommodate to his own favourite system the battles which are there described; and to make, as himself declares, "Polybius more subservient to the comment, than the comment to Polybius." From hence, therefore, has it happened, as it might indeed most reasonably be expected, and as every candid and judicious reader will be ready to acknowledge, that, in the execution of this bold design, numberless passages are tortured, misunderstood, and misapplied; and that even the prints which are added in the work are, in many important points, defective; and in many also repugnant to the plain expressions of the text.

haps, there should be found under this rough covering some delicious kind of fruit; some excellencies which may be esteemed a more than equal counterpoise to his defects. And this is that which we shall now consider.

In all the various history of that great people, whose power, from small contemptible beginnings, was by degrees extended to the limits of the world, and whose virtue, policy, and laws, are still respected and approved, if there be any part more useful, more important, and more illustrious than the rest, it is, beyond all doubt, that very period which furnished the materials of the following work. A period not weakened and deformed by senseless fictions, the offspring of wild vanity, and impure tradition; but resting on the grounds of solid truth, and unsuspected testimony. A period which displays this celebrated empire, not struggling with the dangers and the ills of feeble infancy, nor tottering under the oppressive weight of age; but firm in manly strength, mature in vigour, active, ardent, uncontrolled, invincible. In the scene here presented to us we are not, on the one hand, led to view the momentary wars, the precarious and unmeditated conquests, the intestine feuds and jealousies, the rage and madness, of a half-instructed and half-policied people, rough and savage in their manners, virtuous to the extreme, and exulting in a licentious and ungovernable freedom. Nor is it, on the other hand, the sad picture of a state, corrupted and dispirited through the soft arts of luxury, disgraced by vices, and enslaved to tyrants. The annals of this period offer a far nobler spectacle; a government arrived at perfect growth,

and flourishing in the fairest form; a steady, deep, extensive, and foreseeing policy; a people, joined together by great and generous sentiments, even more than by the ties of common interest; a sovereign power, exerted solely to maintain the general good; a liberty restrained by reason, and submissive to the authority of laws.

A state thus framed, and thus conducted, could not long remain insensible of its own inherent strength and force. From this time, therefore, it seemed to be a matter of small moment and importance to the Romans that they should be able effectually to employ their talents and their power to maintain their empire in tranquillity and dignity, to afford security to their allies, and hold all the neighbouring states under due restraint. Seated as it were upon a strong and lofty eminence, they begin now to extend their views even to countries the most remote; and resolve to bend the most haughty and most powerful kingdoms to their laws. The conquest of the world was judged to be an easy task to a people whose expectations of success were not founded upon their armies, however strong and numerous, nor even upon their military skill and discipline, however perfect and accomplished; but sprung solely from the exertion of a steady wisdom, and sedate discernment; from a foresight, which had weighed all difficulties; from regular designs, whose joint dependence was of itself sufficient to carry them into execution; from vigorous counsels, which disdained resistance; and from a firmness which derided ill success, and rose superior to the heaviest strokes of fortune. Nor did the event in

any point deceive their hopes. The most skilful dexterous, and undaunted general of all that the world had seen, in vain leads his army from the extreme boundaries of Spain, traverses the Pyrenæans and the Alps, and falls, like thunder, upon Italy. Battle after battle lost, the bravest of the legions slain, the country wasted and destroyed, provinces revolting or subdued, in vain threaten the extinction of the name of Rome. The Romans, conscious still of their superior force, and standing firm against misfortune, are persuaded that, unless themselves first lose all hope, their country never can be lost. Their wounds, though deep and bleeding, instead of draining from the members all their vital strength, serve only to call forth new streams of vigour from the heart. Their policy, their manners, the frame itself of the republic, all join to afford resources inexhaustible, and which seem even to be multiplied by their defeats. Thus armed, and thus supported, what wonder was it that, in the end, they should prevail against an enemy whose very government itself, instead of being fortified with the like advantages, was such as baffled even the fortune and the skill of their own enterprising and triumphant general, and rendered useless all his victories. Annibal, enfeebled by success, exhausted by continual conquest, and in vain exerting his utmost efforts to subdue a people who rose with redoubled strength from every fall, was at last forced to return, and employ all his courage and abilities to rescue his own proper country from that destruction with which he had so lately threatened Rome. But what courage, what abilities, could prolong the existence of an

empire, destitute of all internal force, and which carried in its bosom the immediate causes of decay and dissolution? The haughty Carthage, the tyrant of Spain and Afric, the sovereign mistress of commerce and the sea, bends her neck to the yoke; and from this time leaves full leisure to the Romans to pursue, step by step, the traces of their first design; to remove each obstacle as they advanced; to divide, unite, oppose, and counterbalance, the interests and the strength of the most formidable states, till they all became alike incapable of resisting, and were in turn compelled to feel and to acknowledge that they had no laws left, no counsels, customs, manners, policy, but the sole will of this invincible and wise republic [b].

Such were the times in which Polybius lived; and such the spectacle which he chose to illustrate in his writings. A spectacle, transcending all that can be offered to our view, I do not say in the rude age of Rome, but in those admired and boasted annals likewise which belong to the later periods of

[b] It seemed unnecessary to enter here into any more circumstantial or particular detail of the design and limits of the history, or to enumerate singly all the events which it contained; not only because the author himself has given a very distinct and clear account both of the general form and nature of his undertaking, and of the distribution and the order of its several parts; but because it has happened likewise that of the whole of the original work, which was extended to the number of forty books, five only have been rescued from the hand of time. Yet these, as they are come to us entire, so are they perfect also with respect to the subjects of which they treat; and will, if I mistake not, fully exemplify all that is affirmed concerning the character and peculiar talents of the author.

this great empire; as much as disorder is excelled by union; effeminate baseness, by heroic bravery; corrupted manners, by disinterested virtue; vile submission, by a generous and manly love of liberty; or the little arts of jealous tyrants and ambitious ministers, temporary shifts, and expedients of a day, by that enlarged and powerful policy, which looks forward to all future time, embraces every object, and attracts within the circle of its system every possible event.

As the subject, therefore, is thus great and interesting, let us, in the next place, examine likewise, whether the work itself be not distinguished also by some peculiar characters of excellence that raise it above other histories, and which serve clearly to illustrate and enforce the dignity and whole importance of the events of which it treats.

If we consider first, what kind of talents, genius, and abilities, should be required to display in the fullest light the wonders of so august a scene, and to point out distinctly, to the present and to future times, all the advantages that might be drawn from a period thus pregnant with instruction, it will at once be obvious to remark, that such a work must very far exceed the highest reach of any rhetorician, however eloquent and learned, or any sophist, however penetrating and acute; and could only be successfully performed by one whose knowledge of mankind, and long practice in the affairs of government, joined to an habitual and close attention to the designs, the workings, and effects of policy, had enabled him to lift up the veil, and to view at leisure the secret springs that actuated, and pushed for-

wards, all the great machine; by one whose fortunes and condition had opened to him the means of being perfectly instructed and informed; by one who had been himself a witness to the events which he relates, or had received his accounts at least from those that were; by one whom credulity, or vanity, never could incline to disgrace the truth by splendid miracles, and deform fact by fiction; and lastly, by one whose natural love of virtue, and consciousness of the importance of the trust in which he had engaged, should force his own passions, humour, interest, to fall back and to disappear, and substitute in their place an exactness, candour, and fidelity, superior to reproach or censure, and exempt from all suspicion.

Such must be the writer to whose testimony we should yield a full assent, to whose authority we should submit, and whose wisdom we should blindly trust to guide us, through the long labyrinth of causes and events, into a clear and comprehensive view of the motions, advancement, and whole progress, of the Roman greatness; and such, in every point, was that historian whose character we are here endeavouring to describe. Illustrious by his birth, and not less distinguished by the greatness of his sentiments, the wisdom of his counsels, his skill in war, his steady virtue, and sincere attachment to the interests of his country, he began to be considered, even in early age, as the chief support of that republic in whose firmness were deposited the small remains of Grecian liberty. As on the one hand, therefore, his rank and his abilities, with the important parts which he sustained in every public measure and

debate, disclosed to him all the various scenes of government; so the condition also of the times, and his earnest zeal for the general good, urged him, on the other hand, to call forth every talent into action; to survey with the nicest care the present and past fortunes of his country; to trace backwards every step by which subjection had advanced towards them in the place of glory; and to review, to weigh, and to examine, the designs, effects, and influence, of that artful and ambitious policy, which, after having conquered or deluded so many different nations, had at last triumphed likewise over Greece, and, under the specious pretence of restoring every city to independency and freedom, had, in reality, infolded all alike in silken fetters, to be loosened, or strained close, as occasion should demand.

Such talents, such experience, and such researches, might doubtless have delayed, though not averted, the last fatal stroke, which not long afterwards completed the destruction of the Achæans, and of Greece. But the Romans, from whose attention the most distant danger never could escape, made haste to deprive a people, whom they had destined to be slaves, of the assistance and support of every citizen whose courage or abilities seemed likely to spread wide a contagious spirit, and, together with the love of freedom, to inspire also by degrees a strength sufficient to shake off the yoke.

This banishment, which was decreed in common to all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, whose virtue was become their crime, as it was honourable to Polybius, proved highly beneficial likewise to all future times. Torn by violence from the service of his

country, and fixed to a long abode in that great city, which was the fountain of all the counsels that directed and sustained the Roman empire, he had now both leisure and the means to draw together the instruction that was requisite, for carrying into execution the design which he had formed; to compare observation and conjecture with fact and certainty; to copy the detail of all great events from authentic monuments, and from the memoirs of those illustrious persons, who had been the chief actors in the scene; to view closely, and without disguise, the manners, temper, inclinations, and whole conduct of a people, who had thus forced the most powerful kingdoms to receive their laws; to inspect all the movements of that regulated wisdom which had saved their state from imminent ruin; and to trace to their sources those internal springs of strength and vigour which had nourished and enlarged its growth; in a word, to compose that history, which, piercing through the clouds of ignorance and error, assigned to every incident its own genuine motive; unfolded the most complicated causes; and, by joining to an exact and accurate description of wars, embassies, and treaties, a full and distinct display of the counsels, maxims, laws, the prudence, constancy, and courage, with the whole military and domestic discipline that were peculiar to the Romans, made it manifest to all mankind that the greatness to which this people had now raised their empire was by no means the work of fortune, or the effect of a bold and enterprising rashness; but the necessary and mature result of strenuous efforts and regular designs, conducted by a firm and penetrating policy,

which no precautions could elude, and no force was able to subdue.

In discharging a task of so great extent and difficulty, and of such vast importance likewise in its use, it cannot surely be thought astonishing or strange that this wise historian should have been diverted, or withheld, from paying a due attention to the embellishments of art, and charms of eloquence. But whatever censure may be thrown upon him for having slighted all those graces, which would doubtless have diffused some lustre through his work, it must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that, together with them, he has rejected likewise all the false, though specious, ornaments which disgrace the compositions even of the most esteemed and wisest ancients. The desire to strike and surprise, to please and captivate, diversified perhaps according to the different talents of the writer, has, in all times, covered history with a delusive glare, which serves only to mislead us from that knowledge which is the object of our search. Hence that unnatural mixture of record with tradition, truth with fable, and the long train of brilliant wonders which are scattered through the annals of almost every age, and every people. Hence those discourses and harangues which, having been forged and moulded in the shade of contemplative and obscure retirement, confound all distinctions of men, characters, and times. Hence likewise all the laboured pageantry, the adventitious and far-sought circumstances which are brought to swell description, and to adorn and dignify the scene; to fill the mind with admiration; to melt into compas-

sion; or to subdue by terror. Hence, lastly, that ambitious care which is discovered even in the gravest writers; who, not content with having copied the bare features of the original that was before them, like painters, call forth all their skill to give also a finishing to the piece; and join, to the resemblance that is found in nature, those strokes which enlarge and heighten each deformity, or spread a fuller brightness over every beauty. But to the author, whose work we are now considering, it was reserved as his peculiar praise, to have first discerned, that history, if she would prove a secure and useful guide, must walk hand in hand with life; and that instruction, whether moral or political, was never to be fixed upon the weak foundation of imaginary facts. It is not, therefore, the writer, whom we view before us, eager of applause, and impatient to draw from us an admiration of his art, in having decked the truth in a splendid dress, and thrown into her train a gay assemblage of well-fancied, possible events. But it is the statesman, the general, the philosopher, who speaks to us, as in his closet, in familiar language; recounts simply all that was transacted; confirms fact by testimony; and enables us to derive an easy and immediate profit likewise from the prudence or misconduct of past times, by reflections deep and solid, and such as our own reason cannot but approve, when they are gently enforced upon us as by the authority of a parent, or urged with the fond affection of a friend.

How steadily indeed must we revere, and how willingly attend to, the lessons of a man, whose

probity shines out in every part, even far more conspicuous than his wisdom. Blinded by no interest, nor seduced by any mistaken zeal, as he never is himself deceived, so neither does he attempt to lead others into error. Unmoved by the ill fate of Greece, and his own loss of friends and dignity, he describes even those events, which seldom fail to awaken some resentment, grief, or jealous hatred, with all the coldness of an unconcerned spectator; and pays due homage, though unmixed with adulation, to those great qualities which had raised the structure of the Roman glory upon the ruins of his own degenerate country. Hence it is that we discern, even upon the slightest view, a certain candour and sincerity spread through his work, which we in vain should hope to find in other writers; a candour, which never hides the faults of friends, nor tarnishes the virtues of an enemy; a candour, which presents all objects in their naked state, free from the disguise of passion; and which weighs contending testimonies in an equal scale; in a word, a candour, which, like an artless honesty of face, carries even in its air and first appearance those strong proofs of genuine and unfeigned simplicity, which irresistibly command our approbation, and engage our favour. Such was the author, who, when living, was the friend, the companion, and instructor, of the generous and heroic Scipio; and whose writings, in a later age, were the earnest study, and chief consolation also, of the wise and virtuous Brutus.

It remains that I now speak a word or two concerning the translation; not to mislead the opinion, or prevent the judgment, of the reader;

but simply to inform him what it is that he is chiefly to expect from my own endeavours in the following work.

There are two things, unconnected and distinct, which are demanded always of translators; that they understand well the text, and render it also well. With regard to the first of these, in what degree I may have been exempt from errors, must be wholly left to others to determine. I can only say, that I have spared no pains to arrive at a full and entire conception of the sense; by tracing the author closely through his own peculiar turn and use of sentiments and language; by comparing different texts; consulting different versions; and by weighing all the explanations and corrections that have occasionally been proposed.

But in a task of this kind, barely to understand the meaning of an author, though it often may require indeed both patience and activity, is by much the least part of the toil. To render every word by an equivalent expression, and every sentence in the same just measure; to preserve each different character of sentiment and phrase; and to delineate, stroke by stroke, the movements of the mind or heart; these are the difficulties in translating, that demand an attention, time, and pains, which never can be fully known, but by those alone who have made the trial. As these difficulties, however, are either slighter, or more hard to be surmounted, according to the several stamps of excellence, and the various modes of beauty, that are peculiar to the originals, it must be acknowledged, that, in the work of the author who is now before

us, they are by no means such as should discourage any one from attempting to give a perfect copy of it in a different language. For there are here no beauties whose spirit might be lost in being transfused; no force, or elegance, or just propriety, that demand an exact similitude of corresponding terms; no flowing, regulated numbers, whose harmony can only be preserved by the same fixed accents and chosen sounds; no painting of the passions, in which even the smallest change would mar the likeness, and destroy all the beauty of the piece. But, on the other hand, the very want of these excellencies, while it freed me from a heavy and laborious duty, at the same time imposed a task upon me, not less difficult than the other; the task of veiling those deformities that might have raised disgust; and of clothing the author, not in any ostentatious or splendid habit, but in a dress which, though suitable in every part to his own deportment, air, and character, might be also such as should draw towards him the attention and the favour of the present age. With this view I have not scrupled to endeavour through the whole, as well by changing sometimes the expression, as by breaking the order likewise of the sentences, to soften what appeared too harsh, and to give a modest polish to all that was found too rough. In a word, my chief care and pains, after the task of reporting faithfully the sense, have been employed to spread one simple, grave, and sober colouring over all the work; to render the diction strong, expressive, even, and correct; and to give to the periods a roundness, a stability, and varied cadence. If this part, therefore, of the labour should be judged to have been

executed with success, it is hoped that any omissions, or mistakes, of lighter moment, may more readily obtain excuse.

I shall only add, that when I first engaged in this work many years ago, my intention was, to have joined with the translation such observations and remarks as might have served not only to explain the difficulties, but to illustrate also and enforce the strong sense and wise reflections that are spread through all the following history; to have cleared the obscurity which arises oftentimes from remote allusions, or an imperfect detail of facts; to have opened those peculiarities of customs and of manners which, whenever they occur, raise doubt and hesitation in the unlearned reader; to have pointed out the uses, or defects, of various institutions, in religion, laws, and government; and, above all the rest, to have traced, step by step, the advancement of the Roman greatness; to have called back also to the scene the illustrious times of Greece, and compared the glory of that country with its last decline; and, in a word, to have displayed in one entire and connected view the whole conduct, and the various fortunes of those great nations, whose sages, and whose heroes, seem to have soared above the ordinary limits of humanity; and whose story, while it instructs and warms, should teach us also to spurn away those narrow politics, and that base depravity, which have fixed shackles upon our own contracted wisdom and feeble virtue. Such was my design; the first draught of which was nearly finished, and materials collected in large abundance for the whole. But various accidents from time to time

obstructed the progress of it; and I have now neither leisure nor inclination to complete it. Yet as I had gone through the most difficult and irksome, as well as the most useful part likewise of the whole performance, I was not willing entirely to suppress it. For I flatter myself that the public will owe me some acknowledgment, if this translation should prove the means of spreading into many hands a treasure of inestimable value, which the roughness and inelegance, and numerous difficulties that occur, both in the language, and construction, and sense of the original, have hitherto confined to a few. If this, indeed, should be the event, I neither shall regret the labour which the one part of the work has cost me, nor grieve for the disappointment in the other; but shall think my pains well rewarded in having thus been able to bring into the open light a merit which had long languished in obscurity; and to substitute, in the place, perhaps, of studies either trifling or pernicious, the knowledge of an author, whose writings, though broken and imperfect, not only contain the fullest lessons of civil prudence, but also every where abound with strong incitements to the practice of all those social virtues which endear men to themselves, and render them useful citizens to their country.

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

POLYBIUS.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAP. I.

THE year of the prætorship of the younger Aratus was just now ended with the rising of the Pleiades; for in this manner the Achæans computed the course of time. This magistrate, therefore, resigned his office, and was succeeded by Eperatus. Dorimachus was prætor of the Ætolians. About the same time Annibal, as the summer now approached, having declared without reserve his intention to make war against the Romans, led his forces from New Carthage, passed the Iberus, and continued his march towards Italy; while the Romans sent on their part Tiberius Sempronius with an army into Afric, and Publius Cornelius into Spain. At the same time also Ptolemy and Antiochus, who both claimed the sovereignty of Cœle-Syria, having lost all hope of being able to settle their pretensions by embassies or treaties, prepared to end the dispute by arms.

Philip, beginning now to be in want both of provisions and of money to support his troops, desired the Achæan magistrates to give orders for assembling the council of the states. But when these were met together at Ægium, according to the laws of the republic, the king, perceiving

that Aratus, stung with the disgrace which he had received in the late election through the bad practices of Apelles, was inclined rather to oppose than advance his service, and that on the other hand, Eperatus was by nature destitute of all those talents that are requisite for the conduct of affairs, and was also held in great contempt by all, was then fully sensible of the folly of those measures which Apelles and Leontius had engaged him to pursue, and resolved to recover again the confidence and favour of Aratus. He prevailed, therefore, with the magistrates to remove the assembly of the states to Sicyon; and having there addressed himself in private both to the elder and the younger Aratus, and charged Apelles with the blame of all that had been transacted, he pressed them to resume their former sentiments. To this request they both readily consented; and the king, through their pains and influence, obtained afterwards from the assembly the full accomplishment of all that he desired. For by the decree that now was made, the states engaged to pay to him fifty talents, on the day when he should first begin his march; to furnish three months' stipend for the troops, with ten thousand measures of corn; and to pay also seventeen talents monthly, during his stay in Peloponnesus. After these resolutions, the assembly separated, and the Achæans returned again to their several cities.

The king, when he had drawn all the troops together from their winter quarters, and had held a consultation with his friends, resolved now to carry on the war by sea. For as by this method he might himself be able to fall suddenly upon his enemies from every side; so these, on the other hand, must wholly lose the power of sending any assistance to each other; separated, as they were, in remote and distant provinces, and alarmed by apprehensions for their own particular safety, against an enemy to whose motions they would then be strangers, and whose descent upon their country might be made with no less celerity than secrecy; for the people against whom he

was now engaged were the Ætolians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Eleans. Being fixed, therefore, in this design, he drew together to Lechæum all the vessels that belonged to the Achæans, together with his own; and gave orders that the soldiers should be employed continually in the exercise of the oar. The Macedonians submitted to the task with the greatest promptness and alacrity. For these troops, whose courage in the field stands firm against every danger, are not less useful and intrepid upon the sea, whenever occasion demands their service. Active also, and inured to the perpetual toil of digging trenches, and of fortifying camps, they reject no kind of military labour; but are, on the contrary, as Hesiod writes of the Æacidæ, "more pleased with battles than with feasts."

But while Philip and the Macedonians were thus busy in completing all the naval preparations, Apelles, perceiving that the king was no longer governed by him as before, and being unable to support the loss of his authority, formed secretly an engagement with Leontius and Megaleas, by which it was agreed, that these two, still remaining near the king, should be ready, as occasion served, to frustrate all his counsels, and obstruct his measures; and that himself, in the mean while, would go to Chalcis, and take care to stop all supplies that were expected to come that way. When this wicked project was thus concerted, Apelles, having by some false pretences obtained permission to depart, went accordingly to Chalcis; and there, with the help of that authority which had grown from his former credit with the king, he so well performed his part in this base and treacherous engagement, that Philip was at last reduced to an entire want of necessaries, and forced even to set his plate in pawn, in order to procure a subsistence from it.

As soon as the fleet was ready, and the troops all perfect in their exercise, the king, having first distributed some corn and money among his army, sailed out to sea,

and arrived in two days at Patræ. The forces that were with him were six thousand Macedonians, and twelve hundred mercenaries. About the same time, Dorimachus, the Ætolian prætor, sent away five hundred Neocretans, under the command of Agelaus and Scopas, to the assistance of the Eleans. The Eleans also, being apprehensive that Philip would attempt to besiege Cyllene, drew together some troops of mercenaries, trained the forces of the country, and fortified the place with care. Philip, therefore, having been informed of all these preparations, resolved to leave in Dyme the Achæan mercenaries with the Cretans; some Gallic horse, and two thousand men, selected from the infantry of the Achæans; as well to support himself, if there should be occasion for it, as to cover and secure the country against the attempts of the Eleans. And having sent his orders to the Messenians, the Epirots, Acarnanians, and to Scerdilaidas, that they should complete the equipment of their vessels, and join him at Cephallenia, he then sailed away from Patræ to that island at the time appointed, and cast anchor near a little town called Proni. But because the country round it was close and difficult, and the place not easy to be invested, he continued his course forwards to Palæa, and perceiving that this part of the island was full of corn, and promised a plentiful subsistence to his army, he disembarked all his forces, and there encamped. And having drawn his ships to land, and thrown up an intrenchment round them, he sent away the troops to gather in the corn; while himself surveyed the city from every side, in order to discover in what manner he might best advance his works, and plant his machines against it; designing, when the allies had joined him, to use his utmost efforts to become master of the place. For by this conquest, as the Ætolians would, on the one hand, be deprived of a place that was of great importance to them; since their custom was, to make descents from hence in Cephallenian vessels upon the coast of Peloponnesus, Acarnania, and

Epirus; so on the other hand, the king and his allies, when they had gained this post, might fall with great advantage upon the country of their enemies. For Cephallenia lies opposite to the Corinthian gulf, extending towards the sea of Sicily. It joins closely upon the north and western coasts of Peloponnesus, being nearest to Elea, and looks also towards the south and western sides of Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia. The king, therefore, perceiving that the island was situated with so great advantage, as well for assembling the allies, and covering all their lands from insult, as for invading also the provinces of the enemy, was impatient to attempt the conquest of it. And because Palæa was almost every way secured by precipices, or the sea, and was only to be approached by a small and narrow plain, that looked towards Zacynthus, he resolved to advance his works upon that side only, and to fix there the whole business of the siege.

While Philip was thus employed in forming the measures that were necessary for the attack, he was joined by fifteen vessels sent by Scerdilaidas; who was prevented from sending any greater number by some commotions that had happened in Illyria among the chiefs of the country. The Epirots also joined him, together with the Acarnanians and Messenians. For as Phigalea now was taken from the Ætolians, the Messenians had no longer any pretence for refusing their assistance in the war.

When all things were ready for the siege, and the balistæ and the catapults disposed in every place from whence they might with best success repel the efforts of the enemy, the king, having exhorted the Macedonians to be strenuous in their duty, ordered them to approach the walls, and to open a mine under cover of the machines. The Macedonians pursued their task with so great diligence and ardour that the walls were in a short time undermined to the length of about five hundred feet. Philip then approached the city, and pressed the inhabitants to accept conditions from him. And when his offers were

rejected, he set fire to the timber that supported that part of the wall which was undermined. The wall immediately fell down; and the peltastæ, who were commanded by Leontius, being divided into cohorts, were ordered to force their way through the breach, and to storm the city. But this general, remembering the engagement into which he had entered with Apelles, though three young soldiers had already passed the breach, stopped them from advancing, and would not suffer the city to be taken. And as he had before corrupted also the chief among the officers, and himself at this time likewise, instead of leading on the troops with vigour to the charge, appeared struck with consternation, and spread his fears into the rest, the Macedonians were at last repulsed, though they might without much difficulty have made themselves masters of the place. The king, when he perceived the cowardice of the generals, and that many of the soldiers also were disabled by their wounds, was forced to raise the siege, and to deliberate with his friends concerning the measures that were next to be pursued.

About this time Lycurgus entered the province of Messenia with an army; while Dorimachus, with one half of the Ætolian forces, made an incursion also into Thessaly; being persuaded that by this diversion they should draw away the Macedonians from Palæa. The Acarnanians and Messenians, alarmed by the approach of the enemy towards them, sent some deputies to the king, and entreated them to raise the siege. The Acarnanians pressed him to remove the war at once into Ætolia, and thus, by wasting all the country, which was now left without defence, to constrain Dorimachus to return again, before he had entered Macedon. The Messenians, on the other hand, importuned him with no less earnestness to march to the assistance of their country; representing to him, that as the Etesian winds had now begun to blow, he might pass in one day's sailing from Cephallenia to Messenia, and fall upon Lycurgus before he could receive any

notice of his approach. This was the advice which was urged by Gorgus, the chief of the Messenian deputies. Leontius also, pursuing still his first design, supported it with all his strength; being well assured that no measures could more effectually obstruct the progress of the war. For it was easy indeed to transport the army to Messenia, but it was not possible to return again till the season of these winds was passed. The Macedonians, therefore, confined within the limits of that province, must have been forced to waste the whole summer in inaction; while the Ætolians, on the other hand, might have plundered Thessaly and Epirus, and destroyed all the country at their leisure. So pernicious were the counsels which these men recommended to the king.

But Aratus, who was present, opposed this sentiment; and advised the king to advance without delay into Ætolia; since, while Dorimachus was absent with the forces, it would be easy to run through all the province, and to plunder it without resistance. Philip, who before was much dissatisfied with Leontius, on account of his ill conduct in the siege, and who began also to suspect some treachery, from the advice which this minister had so warmly urged with respect to the course that was now most proper to be taken, resolved to yield to the opinion of Aratus. He sent orders, therefore, to Eperatus, that he should draw together the Achæan forces, and march to the assistance of the Messenians; while himself steered away from Cephallenia with the fleet; and after two days' sailing arrived at Leucas in the night. From thence, having before made all things ready for his design, he passed his vessels over the neck of land called Dioryctus into the Ambracian gulf, which, as we have already mentioned, flows from the sea of Sicily, and enters far into the inland parts of Acarnania. He then steered his course up the gulf; and arriving at Limnæa before break of day, gave orders that the soldiers should take their usual repast, and leave behind them likewise all their heavy baggage,

that they might not be incumbered in their march. He called together also all the guides; and informed himself with great exactness of the nature of the country, and of the strength and situation of the neighbouring cities.

In this place he was joined by Aristophantus the prætor of the Acarnanians, with all the forces of the country. For the people of this province had long wished with the greatest earnestness for some occasion to revenge the insults which they had in former times received from the Ætolians. As soon, therefore, as the king arrived, they all took arms; not those alone that were obliged to it by the laws, but many also of the older men, whose age had exempted them from service. The Epirots, who had also been exposed to the same injurious treatment from the Ætolians, were on their part animated likewise with the same resentment. But because the arrival of the king was sudden, and their country also of great extent, they wanted the leisure that was necessary for assembling together the forces of the province. With regard to the Ætolians, Dorimachus, as we have already mentioned, had taken with him one half of their troops; being persuaded that the rest would be sufficient to defend the country, in his absence, against all surprise.

The king, having left his baggage behind him with a proper guard, began his march from Limnæa in the evening; and when he had gained the distance of about sixty stadia, he ordered the troops to take their supper; and having allowed a short time for their repose, he again set forwards, and continuing his march all night, arrived before break of day upon the river Achelous, between Stratus and Conope. His intention was to fall suddenly upon the place called Thermum, before the inhabitants could be able to receive the news of their approach. Leontius clearly saw, that this design must inevitably be attended with success, and that all the efforts of the enemy would be vain and useless. For besides that the arrival of the Macedonians was so quick and unexpected, the Æto-

lians also, having never entertained the least suspicion that the king would throw himself with so great confidence into the very middle of a country that was strong and difficult, were wholly unprepared to resist a danger, of which they had conceived no apprehensions. Reflecting, therefore, upon these two circumstances, and being constant to the engagement into which he had entered with Apelles, he pressed the king to encamp upon the river Achelous, that the troops, who had marched all night, might enjoy some rest, and be recovered again from their fatigue. His intention was, that the Ætolians might from thence gain time to make the preparations that were necessary for their defence. But Aratus on the other hand, well knowing how soon, in all such enterprises, the favourable moment might be irrecoverably lost, and perceiving also that the purpose of Leontius was plainly to obstruct the progress of the war, urged the king to proceed without delay, and not suffer the occasion to escape. Philip, who was already much displeased with the whole conduct of Leontius, approved of this advice; and having passed the river, continued his route in haste towards Thermum, burning and destroying the country as he marched. Leaving on the left hand Stratus, Thestia, and Agrinium; and on his right, Conope, Lysimachia, Trichonium, and Phœteum; he arrived at a town called Metapa, which was situated in the entrance of those passes that led along the lake Trichonis, and was distant from Thermum about sixty stadia. The Ætolians fled from the place upon his approach, and the king posted in it a body of five hundred men, as well to cover his entrance as to secure also his retreat back again through the passes. For the country that lay along the borders of the lake was rough and mountainous, and covered all with woods, so that the passage through it was extremely close and difficult. Philip entered the defiles; placing in his van the mercenaries, behind these the Illyrians, and after them the soldiers of the phalanx. The Cretans closed the rear. The Thracians and the light-armed forces were

disposed upon the right, and marched with equal pace, but at some distance from the main body. The left was covered by the lake, to the length of thirty stadia. Having gained the end of the defiles, they came to a village that was called Pamphia. The king, when he had posted a body of troops in this place also, continued his march forwards towards Thermum, through a road that was not only very steep and rough, but surrounded on all sides likewise by lofty precipices, so that in many parts it was not to be passed without great danger. The whole height also of the ascent was almost thirty stadia. But the Macedonians pursued their way with so great diligence and vigour that they soon gained the summit, and arrived at Thermum, while it was yet full day. The king fixed his camp near the city, and from thence sent away the troops to ravage all the villages and neighbouring plains. They pillaged the houses of the city likewise; which were not only filled with corn, and every kind of necessaries, but with great quantities of rich and costly furniture. For as this was the place in which the Ætolians celebrated every year their games and markets, and held also their assemblies for electing magistrates, they always laid up in it the most valuable of all their goods for the use of these solemnities, and the more splendid reception of their guests. They were persuaded likewise that their riches could no where be deposited in a place of greater safety. For such was the strength and situation of this city that it was considered as the citadel of all Ætolia. And, indeed, before this time no enemy had ever ventured to approach it. The long peace also which the country had enjoyed had afforded both the leisure and the means to heap together all that various wealth and plenty which now filled the houses that were round the temple, and all the neighbouring parts.

The Macedonians, having gained an immense booty, in the evening reposed themselves in their tents. On the following day they selected from the plunder whatever was

of greatest value, and most easy to be removed; and burned the rest in heaps before the camp. They took likewise all the arms that were fixed round the porticos of the temple, and reserving the most splendid of them as their prize, exchanged some others also for their own. The rest, which were in number more than fifteen thousand, were all consumed in fire. Thus far nothing had been done that was contrary to justice, or repugnant to the laws of war. But what censure must we pass on that which followed? Urged by the remembrance of those cruel ravages which the Ætolians had committed at Dium and Dodona, they now set fire to the porticos of the temple, and destroyed the votive offerings; among which there were some that were the work of most exquisite art, and finished at a great expence. Nor were they satisfied with burning the roofs only of the sacred edifice, but even razed the temple to the ground. They threw down also all the statues, which were not fewer than two thousand; breaking many of them in pieces, and sparing those alone that bore the names or the resemblance of the gods. They then wrote upon the walls that celebrated verse which was one of the first productions of the dawning genius of Samus the son of Chrysogonus, who was the foster-brother of the king:

Remember Dium: thence this shaft was sped.

The king himself, and those that were about him, promoted all this violence with a kind of frantic zeal and fury; being persuaded, that it was no more than a just and suitable retaliation and revenge for those impieties which the Ætolians had before committed. But in my judgment their conduct upon this occasion is very greatly to be blamed. Whether my sentiments are just or not, may be judged from those examples which may be found in the same royal house of Macedon. When Antigonus, after he had defeated Cleomenes in battle, and forced him to leave his kingdom, became master of Sparta, so that the city and

the vanquished citizens were wholly in his power; he was so far from treating them with any kind of rigour or severity, that, on the contrary, he established them again in perfect freedom, and restored to them their laws and ancient government; and when he had displayed his generosity and clemency, as well in many particular instances, as in the favours also which he conferred in general upon their state, he returned back to Macedon. From this conduct he was then called the benefactor, and, after his death, the preserver of that people; and gained immortal fame and honour not only among the Lacedæmonians, but from all the states of Greece. That Philip also, who first enlarged the bounds of the Macedonian empire, and spread wide the splendour of this house, when he had defeated the Athenians in the fight of Chæronea, obtained much more by his humane and gentle conduct after the victory, than he had gained by his arms. For by these he subdued indeed the enemies that were in arms against him; but by his gentleness and moderation he vanquished all the Athenians, and forced Athens itself to receive his laws. Instead of making his resentment the rule and measure of his conquests, he, on the contrary, pursued his victories no longer than till he had found a fair occasion to display his clemency and his love of virtue. He restored the prisoners, therefore, without any ransom; allowed the rites of funeral to the soldiers that had fallen in battle; sent Antipater to Athens with their bones; and gave habits also to the greater part of those that were released. And thus, by his wise and dexterous conduct, he accomplished with a small expence the greatest purposes. For the haughty spirit of the Athenians was so perfectly subdued by this generous treatment, that from enemies they were changed at once into the most zealous and hearty friends, ready to favour all his interests, and to assist in all his designs. What again was Alexander's conduct upon a like occasion? Incensed as he was in so high a degree against the people of Thebes, that he ordered all the inhabitants to be sold for

slaves, and the city to be levelled with the ground, yet so far was he from neglecting that duty which he owed the gods, that, on the contrary, he employed the greatest care that no offence should be committed, even through accident, against the temples, or other consecrated places. At the time of his expedition, likewise, into Asia, to revenge the atrocious insults which the Persians had committed against the states of Greece, he punished the people, indeed, with such severity as their crimes demanded, but spared the places that were dedicated to the gods; though the Persians, on the contrary, when they invaded Greece, had made all these the special objects of their rage.

Such then was the conduct which Philip should have kept continually in view; and have made it clear to all mankind that he inherited not the kingdom only, but the generous disposition also, and heroic greatness of his ancestors. But though he, at all times, employed great pains that men should know that he was allied in blood to Alexander and to Philip, he never shewed the least solicitude to emulate their virtues. His reputation, therefore, as he advanced in age, was as different from the fame which those princes had enjoyed, as his manners and his life were different. This difference was clearly seen in the instance of his present conduct. Blinded by resentment, he thought it no crime to repay the devastations which the Ætolians had committed, with the like impious outrages, and thus to remedy one evil by another. In every place, and upon every occasion, he was eager to reproach Dorimachus and Scopas with all the violence and horrid sacrilege of which they had been guilty at Dium and Dodona; but seemed never to have apprehended, that while he was pursuing the same impious course, the same censure likewise must fall upon himself. For though, by the established laws of war, it is not only just but necessary to destroy citadels and cities, ships and harbours, the fruits also of a country with the inhabitants, in order to weaken the strength and power of our enemies, and to in-

crease our own; yet, on the other hand, when men extend their fury to those objects whose destruction neither can procure the least advantage to themselves, nor any way disable their opponents from carrying on the war against them, when they burn especially the temples of the gods, break all their statues, and destroy their ornaments, what must we say of such a conduct, but that it is the mere effect of an entire depravity of manners, the work of senseless rage and madness? For the design of making war among those at least that are of virtuous disposition, is by no means to exterminate the people from whom they have received an injury; but to lead them only to a change of conduct, and to engage them to amend their faults; not to involve the innocent and the guilty in the same perdition, but rather to exempt them both from ruin. To this we may also add, that it is the part of a tyrant only, who hates his subjects, and is hated by them on account of his wicked actions, to exact by force and terror a reluctant and constrained obedience; while a king, who is wise and moderate in his conduct, humane and generous in his manners, obtains the hearts of all his people, who regard him as their friend and benefactor, and submit with cheerfulness to his commands.

But in order to conceive in the clearest manner the whole extent of that mistake which Philip now committed, let us consider what would have been the sentiments of the Ætolians in case that he had pursued a different conduct: and had neither burned the porticos, broken the statues, nor destroyed any of the offerings that were round the temple. For my own part I am persuaded that they must have regarded him as a most humane and virtuous prince. Conscious as they were of all those outrages which they had committed at Dium and Dodona, and knowing also that Philip had, at this time, all things in his power, and that, in treating them with the last severity, he would have done no more, with regard to themselves at least, than what was just and reasonable, they must surely have con-

sidered his moderation, in this respect, as a noble effort of a great and generous mind. In this view, while they condemned their own proceedings, they, on the other hand, would have bestowed on Philip the highest admiration and applause; whose virtue, so worthy of a king, had taught him not only to preserve the duty which he owed the gods, but to set the bounds also to his own just resentment. And, indeed, to conquer enemies by generosity alone and justice, is far more advantageous than any victory that is gained by arms. For the submission of men to these arises wholly from necessity and force; to the former it is free and voluntary. The conquest also, in the one case, is often very dearly purchased; but in the other, the offenders are prevailed upon to return again to a better conduct, without any expence or loss. And what is still of greater moment, the subjects must be allowed to claim the chief part of the success that is obtained by arms; whereas the prince alone reaps all the glory of a victory that is gained by virtue.

But some, perhaps, may think that as Philip was at this time extremely young, he ought not in justice to be charged with all the guilt of these transactions; but that the blame should chiefly be imputed to those that were the nearest in his confidence, especially to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos. Now with regard to these, it is no hard task to judge, even though we were not present at their deliberations, which of the two it was that urged the king to all this violence. For besides that Aratus, in every action, was distinguished by his caution and deliberate judgment, while Demetrius, on the contrary, was no less noted for his imprudence and precipitate rashness; there happened afterwards an instance not unlike the present, from which we shall be able to discern, beyond all doubt, what must have been, upon such occasions, the sentiments and conduct of these two persons. But this must be reserved for its proper place. We now return from this digression.

CHAP. II.

THE king, taking with him every thing that could be carried or removed, began his march back again from Thermum, by the same way by which he had arrived; placing at the head the booty, with the heavy-armed forces, and the Acarnanians with the mercenaries in the rear. He resolved to pass through the defiles with the quickest haste; not doubting but that the Ætolians would take advantage of the difficulty of the way, and fall upon him in his retreat. And this, indeed, soon happened. The people had met together in arms, to the number of about three thousand men, under the command of Alexander of Trichonium. While the king remained upon the eminences, they kept themselves at a distance, and lay concealed in obscure and covered places. But as soon as the rear of his army had begun to move, they entered Thermum and from thence advanced, and fell upon the hindmost troops. The mercenaries that composed the rear were thrown by this attack into no small confusion; while the Ætolians, perceiving the disorder, and being emboldened by the advantage of the ground, pressed the charge with greater vigour than before. But Philip having foreseen this accident, had taken care, as he descended, to post behind a certain hill a body of Illyrians, with some select men from the peltastæ; and these now falling suddenly upon the enemy, who had advanced beyond them and were following the pursuit with eagerness, killed a hundred and thirty of them, and took almost an equal number prisoners. The rest fled with great precipitation, and escaped through difficult and unfrequented roads. After this success the rear, setting fire to Pamphia as they marched, passed the defiles with safety, and joined the rest of the army, who were encamped near Metapa, expecting their arrival. The king razed this city to the ground, and the next day advanced to a town called Acræ. On the

following day he again decamped, and wasting all the country as he passed, arrived near Conope, and rested there during one whole day. He then continued his march along the river Achelous towards Stratus. And having passed the river, he for some time stopped his march, at a distance that was beyond the reach of the darts, and offered the troops that were within the city the opportunity of a battle. For he had heard, that three thousand Ætolian infantry, and four hundred horse, together with five hundred Cretans, had thrown themselves into the place. But when they all remained close behind the walls, he continued again his route towards Limnæa, where his vessels lay. But scarcely had the hindmost troops passed beyond Stratus when some of the Ætolian cavalry sallied out, and began to disturb the rear. These at first were but few in number; but as they soon were followed by a part also of their infantry, and the Cretan forces, the battle then grew warm, and the troops that were in march were forced to face about to repel the enemy. The contest was for some time equal. But when the Illyrians were ordered also to return, and support the troops that were engaged, the Ætolians, both infantry and cavalry, turned their backs, and fled together in great disorder. The king followed closely even to the very gates, and killed about a hundred of them. After this attempt, the Ætolians remained quiet within the city; while the rear pursued their march with safety, and joined the rest of the army, and the vessels.

The king, being now encamped at ease, made a solemn sacrifice of thanks to the gods for the success of his late enterprise, and invited his officers to a feast. For all men had considered it as an attempt of the greatest hazard, that he should thus throw himself into a country of such uncommon strength and difficulty, and enter places into which no troops before had ever dared to penetrate. Yet Philip not only entered them without any loss, but accomplished likewise all that he designed, and had brought his

army back again with safety. His joy therefore was extreme; and in this disposition he prepared to celebrate his banquet.

But Leontius and Megaleas beheld this happy fortune with no small affliction and concern. Faithful still to their engagement with Apelles, they had employed every art to obstruct the war, and frustrate all the counsels of the king. But so far were they from being able to accomplish their design, that, on the contrary, this prince had now obtained the utmost of his wishes. They came, however, to the banquet, but with hearts so filled with heaviness that the king, with the rest that were present with him, began immediately to suspect that they were strangers to the general joy. And indeed when in the progress of the feast the guests all had drunk to great excess, and these also were compelled to fill their glasses with the rest, they at last threw aside the mask, and shewed their sentiments without disguise. For no sooner was the banquet ended, than their reason being disordered, and their senses lost in wine, they ran every way to seek Aratus: and having found him returning from the feast, after many insults and reproaches they assaulted him with stones. A party soon was formed on either side, and the disorder began to spread through all the camp. The king, being alarmed by the noise, sent some persons to enquire into the causes of it, and to compose the tumult. Aratus related to them the fact as it had happened; and appealed to the testimony of all that had been present, and then withdrew to his tent. Leontius also found some means to slide away unnoticed through the crowd. But Megaleas and Crinon were conducted to the king; who, when he had heard the account of what had passed, reprimanded them with great severity. But so far were they from being humbled by it to any degree of submission or acknowledgment, that, on the contrary, they added an aggravation to their fault, and told the king that they never would desist from their design, till they had taken full vengeance

upon Aratus. The king, being greatly incensed at this daring insolence, immediately condemned them to pay a fine of twenty talents, and commanded them to be led away to prison. And, on the following day, having ordered Aratus to be called, he exhorted him to take courage; and assured him that the authors of this disorder should be punished with due severity.

When Leontius was informed of what had happened to Megaleas, he took with him a body of the peltastæ, and went, thus attended, to the tent of the king; being persuaded that he should easily intimidate this young prince, and force him to recall his orders. Being admitted, therefore, to his presence, he demanded, "who it was that had been so bold as to lay hands upon Megaleas? and by whose orders he was sent to prison?" The king replied intrepidly, "By mine." Leontius was then struck with terror; and muttering to himself some threats, retired.

The king now sailed away with all the fleet, passed the gulf, and arrived in a short time at Leucas. And when he had given orders to the proper officers to make a distribution of the booty among the troops, he called together his friends, to pass judgment on Megaleas. Aratus, who was present as the accuser, ran through the whole administration of Leontius and his friends. He charged them with some flagrant murders that were committed by their orders, after Antigonus had retired from Greece. He laid open the engagement into which they had entered with Apelles; with the manner also in which they had defeated the king's designs, when he attempted to take by storm the city of Palæa. In a word, he shewed the guilt of these transactions with so much clearness, and supported all that he affirmed by such convincing evidence, that Crinon and Megaleas, unable to refute the charge, were with one voice condemned. The former was still detained in prison: but Leontius offered himself as surety, for the fine that was imposed upon Megaleas. Such was the unexpected issue of the treacherous project into which

these men had entered. They had persuaded themselves that it would be an easy thing to remove Aratus by some violence; and when the king was thus left destitute of friends, that they might afterwards pursue such measures as their own interest should require. But the event proved opposite to all their hopes.

During this time, Lycurgus had been forced to abandon the Messenian territory, without performing any action of importance. But some time afterwards he again took the field, and made himself master of the city of Tegea. He attempted also to reduce the citadel, into which the inhabitants had all retired. But after some fruitless efforts he was constrained to raise the siege, and to return back again to Sparta.

The Eleans made also an incursion into the Dymæan territory: and having drawn into an ambuscade some cavalry that was sent against them, they defeated them with little difficulty, killed many of the mercenaries, and, among the forces of the country, took prisoners also Polymedes of Ægium, and Agesipolis and Megacles, citizens of Dyme.

Dorimachus, as we before have mentioned, had advanced into Thessaly with the Ætolians; being persuaded, that he not only might be able to ravage all the country without resistance, but should also draw away the king, by this diversion, from the siege of Palæa. But when he saw that Chrysogonus and Petræus had brought together an army to oppose him, he never dared to descend once into the plain, but continued his route close along the sides of the mountains. And no sooner was he informed that the Macedonians had entered the Ætolian territory, than he immediately abandoned Thessaly, and returned in haste back again, with design to defend his country. But he was wholly disappointed in that hope: for the enemy had left the province before he was able to arrive.

Philip now sailed away from Leucas, and having wasted the coast of the Hyantheans as he passed, arrived at

Corinth with all the fleet, and cast anchor in the harbour of Lechæum. He there disembarked his army; and when he had first sent letters to the confederate cities of Peloponnesus, to appoint the day, in which their forces should be ready in arms, and join him at Tegea, he immediately began his march towards that city with the Macedonians, and taking his route by the way of Argos, arrived there on the second day: and being joined by such of the Achæan forces as were then assembled in the city, he continued his march along the mountains, with design to fall upon the Lacedæmonian territory, before the people could receive any notice of his approach. Passing, therefore, through those parts of the country that were chiefly destitute of all inhabitants, he appeared, after four days' march, upon the hills that stand opposite to Sparta; and from thence, leaving Menelaium on his right, he advanced forwards to Amyclæ. The Lacedæmonians, when they beheld this army from the city, were struck with consternation and surprise. Their minds, indeed, had been alarmed not long before, by the news of the sack of Thermum, and of all the devastation which the Macedonians had committed in Ætolia: and the general rumour was, that Lycurgus would soon be sent to the assistance of the Ætolians. But they never had conceived the least suspicion, that the danger, in so short a time, could arrive close to Sparta, from a distance so considerable; especially, as the king was at this time of an age, which was apt rather to inspire contempt than fear. As the event, therefore, was so contrary to all their expectation, it could not fail to strike them with the utmost terror. And, indeed, so greatly had the courage and the activity of this prince surpassed all that his youth could promise, that his enemies in every place were filled with solicitude and anxious doubt. For marching, as we have already mentioned, from the middle of Ætolia, and having passed, in one night's time, the Ambracian gulf, he arrived at Leucas; and when he had stayed two days, on the third sailed early in the morning;

and, wasting the coast of Ætolia as he passed, cast anchor at Lechæum; and from thence marching forwards without delay, he gained upon the seventh day the neighbourhood of Menelaium, and the hills that overlooked the city of Sparta. So astonishing was this celerity, that those who themselves beheld it, could scarcely give credit to their eyes. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, were distracted with suspense and wonder, and knew not what measures were the best to be pursued.

The king, on the first day, fixed his camp near Amyclæ, which is distant from Lacedæmon about twenty stadia. The country round it is distinguished above all the other parts of Laconia, by the excellence and rich variety of the trees and fruits with which it every where abounds. On the side of the city towards the sea stands a temple of Apollo, more sumptuous and magnificent than any in the province. On the next day, he decamped; and, destroying the country as he passed, arrived at the place that was called the camp of Pyrrhus. On the two following days, he wasted all the neighbouring places, and came and encamped near Carnium; and from thence continuing his march to Asine, attempted to take the city. But, after some fruitless efforts, he again decamped, and ravaged all the country, on the side towards the sea of Crete, as far as Tænarium. From thence, taking his route back again, and leaving, on his right hand, the port called Gythium, which is distant from Lacedæmon about thirty stadia, he encamped upon the frontiers of the Helian district, which is the largest and most beautiful of all the parts into which Laconia is divided. And having, from this place, sent his foragers abroad, he destroyed the fruits, and wasted all the country round Acriæ and Leucæ; and from thence extended his incursions even to Bœa.

The Messenians, as soon as they had received the orders of the king, that they should join him with their forces, shewed no less diligence and zeal, than the rest of the

allies; and having selected, among all the people of their province, two thousand of the bravest foot, with two hundred horse, they began their march towards Tegea. But, because the route was of a very considerable length, it happened, that Philip had left the city, before they were able to arrive. For some time, therefore, they were in doubt what resolution they should take. But when they had considered, that, as some suspicions had been before conceived against them, their delay upon this occasion likewise might perhaps be imputed to a designed and wilful negligence, they, at last, continued their march through the Argian territory towards Laconia, in order to join the Macedonians. When they arrived near Glympes, a fortress that was situated upon the extreme borders of Laconia and of Argia, they there encamped; but without any kind of skill or caution. For they neither employed their pains to choose the most commodious ground, nor threw up any intrenchment round their camp; but trusting to the favourable disposition of the people, reposed themselves in full security before the walls. But Lycurgus being informed of their approach, took with him the mercenaries, and a part also of the Lacedæmonian forces, and beginning his march from Sparta, arrived at the place before break of day, and fell with great fury upon their camp. The Messenians, though they had shewn before so little prudence in all their conduct, and especially in having marched from Tegea when their numbers were so few, and in opposition also to the advice of the wisest men among them, were careful, however, at this conjuncture, to have recourse to the only measures by which they could now obtain their safety. For as soon as the enemy approached toward them, they immediately left all their baggage, and fled into the fortress. The baggage, therefore, with many of the horses, fell into the hands of the enemy. Eight soldiers also of the cavalry were killed. The rest all escaped with safety; and retreated back again through Argia, to their own country. Lycurgus, elate

with this success, returned to Sparta, to complete the preparations for the war. And when he had held a consultation with his friends, he resolved that Philip should not be permitted to leave the country till he had first been forced to try the fortune of a battle.

The king now decamped from the Helian district, and wasting the country on every side, arrived again, after four days' march, in the neighbourhood of Amyclæ with all his army, about the middle of the day. Lycurgus, having in concert with his friends and officers regulated all the plan of the intended battle, marched out of the city with two thousand men, and took possession of the posts round Menelaium. At the same time he ordered those that were left in the city carefully to observe the time, and, as soon as they should perceive his signal, to lead out their troops from many parts at once, and range them in order of battle, with their front turned towards the Eurotas, and in the place in which that river flowed nearest to the city. Such was the disposition of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonians.

But lest the reader, from being unacquainted with the country of which we are speaking, should be lost in error and uncertainty, we shall here point out the nature of the several places, with the manner in which they are situated: agreeably to the method which we have still observed in the course of this work; comparing always, and bringing close together, the parts that are unknown, with those that are already known, and which have been before described. For since, in reading the recital of engagements both by land and sea, the want of having gained a perfect knowledge of the peculiar face and disposition of the scene of action, often proves the occasion of great mistakes; and because my design in all which I relate, is not so much to shew what actions were performed, as the manner in which they severally were transacted; I think it necessary to illustrate all great events, and especially those of war, by describing the places in which they happened, and distin-

guishing them by some precise aud accurate marks; either by harbours, seas, and islands; or else again, by the temples, mountains, and countries that are near; but chiefly by their position with respect to the quarter of the heavens, because this distinction is of all others the most commonly received and understood. For this, indeed, is the only method, as we have observed before, by which the reader ever can acquire a right conception of those countries to which he is a stranger.

Sparta, then, if we consider it in its general figure and position, is a city in a circular form, standing in a plain. But the ground, in certain parts that are within the circuit of it, is rough and unequal, and rises high above the rest. Close before the city, on the side towards the east, flows the Eurotas; a river so large and deep that during the greatest part of the year it is not to be forded. Beyond this river, on the south-east side of the city, are those hills upon which stand Menelaium. They are rough, and difficult of ascent, and of a more than common height: and command entirely all the ground between the river and the city. For the river takes its course along the very border of the hills: and the whole space from thence to Sparta does not exceed a stadium and a half in breadth.

Such was the defile through which Philip, as he returned, must be forced to pass; having on his left hand the city, with the Lacedæmonians ranged in battle and ready to engage; and on his right, the river, and Lycurgus, with the troops that were posted upon the hills. But besides these difficulties, the Lacedæmonians, in order more effectually to obstruct his passage, had stopped the course of the river, at some distance above the ground which we have mentioned, and forced the waters to flow over all the space that lay between the city and the hills; so that neither the cavalry nor infantry could march that way with safety. The Macedonians, therefore, had no means left for their retreat but to lead their army close

along the very foot of the hills. But as they must then have marched with a very narrow and contracted front, it would scarcely have been possible to resist the efforts of the enemy. When Philip had considered all these difficulties, and had held a consultation also with his generals, he judged it necessary that Lycurgus should be first dislodged from his posts upon the hills. Taking with him therefore the mercenaries, the peltastæ, and the Illyrians, he passed the river, and advanced towards the enemy. When Lycurgus saw what the king designed, he exhorted his troops to perform their duty, and prepared them for the combat. At the same time he gave the signal also to those that were in the city; who immediately drew out their forces, and ranged them in order of battle before the walls, with the cavalry upon their right. Philip, as he approached nearer to Lycurgus, first sent the mercenaries against him, to begin the action. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, who were superior in the advantage of their arms, and from the situation also of the ground upon which they stood, for some time maintained the fight with the fairest prospect of success.

But when Philip ordered the peltastæ to advance, and support the troops that were first engaged, while himself with the Illyrians prepared to fall upon the enemy in their flank, the mercenaries, encouraged by this assistance, pressed the charge with greater vigour than before; while the Lacedæmonians, being struck with terror at the approach of the heavy-armed forces, turned their backs and fled. About a hundred of them were killed in the place; and more than that number taken prisoners. The rest escaped safe into the city. Lycurgus himself, with a small number of attendants, retreated through some private roads, and entered the city also in the night. Philip having posted the Illyrians upon the hills, from whence he had dislodged the enemy, returned again to join the rest of the army, with the peltastæ and the light armed troops.

During this time, the phalanx had begun their march from Amyclæ under the conduct of Aratus, and were now arrived near the city. The king, therefore, passed the river with the light-armed forces, the peltastæ, and a body of cavalry, in order to sustain the attack of the Lacedæmonians, till the heavy-armed troops, who continued their march along the sides of the hills, should have passed through the defile with safety. The Lacedæmonians, advancing from the city, charged first the cavalry of the king. But, as the action soon became more general, and was sustained by the peltastæ with the greatest bravery, the victory was again wholly turned to the side of Philip, who drove back the Lacedæmonian cavalry, and pursued them even to the gates. He then passed again the river, and closing the rear of all the phalanx, continued his march forwards, without any loss.

He had just now gained the end of the defile, when the night suddenly came on, and forced him to encamp, without advancing any farther. It happened, that the place which the guides were thus compelled, as it were by accident, to mark out for the encampment, was that very ground, which an army would take by choice, if their intention was to pass beyond the city of Sparta, and to make incursions upon the Lacedæmonian territory. For it was situated at the extremity of this defile of which we have been speaking, in the road which leads to Lacedæmon, not only from Tegea, but from all the inland parts of Peloponnesus, and stood close upon the border of the river, at the distance of two stadia only from the city. The side that looked towards the river and the city was covered by steep and lofty precipices, which were almost inaccessible. And above these rocks, was a level plain, which abounded both with earth and water, and was also so disposed, that an army might at all times enter it, or retire again with safety. In a word, whoever has once gained possession of this plain, with the precipices likewise that are round it, not only may remain secure against all

attacks from the side of Sparta, but is the master also of every thing that enters or returns through the defile.

Philip, having here fixed his camp in full security, on the following day sent his baggage away before, and then drew out all his forces in order of battle, upon the plain, in sight of the city. And when he had stood for some time in that disposition, he then turned aside, and directed his route towards Tegea. Arriving at the place, in which the battle had been fought between Antigonus and Cleomenes, he there encamped: and, on the following day, when he had first viewed all the neighbouring posts, and offered sacrifice to the gods upon the mountains Eva and Olympus, he strengthened the rear of his army, and continued his march forwards to Tegea: and, having there sold all his booty, he passed from thence through Argos, and arrived at Corinth. In this place he was met by some ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to mediate a peace. The king, dissembling his intentions, assured the ambassadors, that he had been always strongly inclined, and still was ready, to put an end to the war; and dismissed them, with orders, that they should employ all their power to lead the Ætolians into the same sentiments. He then went down to Lechæum, designing to sail from thence to Phocis, in order to carry into execution in that province some designs of great importance.

CHAP. III.

AT this time, Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, being persuaded that they should yet be able to intimidate the king, and by that means obliterate all their former crimes, dropped whispers of sedition among the peltastæ and the soldiers of the guard: and represented to them, that while they alone of all the army were, at all times, the first exposed to danger for the common safety of the rest, they not only were defrauded of their ancient privileges, but robbed also of that share in the division of the plunder,

which, by long custom, they had a right to claim. The young men, inflamed by these discourses, ran together in a body, and began to pillage the houses of the most favoured courtiers, and even attempted to burst the doors, and to break through the roof of the apartments of the king. In a short time, therefore, the whole city was filled with uproar and with tumult. Philip, being informed of this disorder, came running, in great haste, from Lechæum back to Corinth. And having assembled the Macedonians in the theatre, he endeavoured both by admonition and by threatenings, to bring them to a sense of their misconduct. But, as the confusion still increased, some were of opinion, that the chief leaders of the tumult should be seized and put to death: while others judged it to be far more prudent to quiet the commotion by gentle means, and that no resentment should be shewn, on account of what had happened. The king, concealing his own sentiments, appeared to yield to this last advice; and, after some general exhortations, returned back again to Lechæum. For, though he very well knew, by whose contrivance the sedition had been raised, yet the times forced him to dissemble. After this disorder, he was no longer able to carry into execution those designs, which had invited him to Phocis.

But Leontius, perceiving that all his projects still were frustrated, and having thrown away all hope of being able to succeed in any new attempt, was now forced to call Apelles to his assistance. He sent, therefore, repeated messengers, urging him to return from Chalcis, and informed him of all the danger and perplexity in which he had been involved, from having opposed the counsels of the king. Apelles, during his abode in Chalcis, had raised his credit to a very high degree of insolence; representing the king, upon all occasions, as a young man, that was wholly governed by him; and who had devolved upon him all the royal power, with the entire administration of the state. The magistrates, therefore, and the

other officers of Macedon and Thessaly, referred to him alone the censure of their conduct. And, in every city also of Greece, whenever any decrees were made, any honours paid, or presents offered, there was scarcely any mention made of Philip. Apelles obtained all, and governed all. The king had been, for a long time past, informed of these proceedings. But, though he bore the insult with great uneasiness and pain, and was urged closely by Aratus to apply some remedy, he so well concealed his sentiments, that no person yet was able to discover what measures he had resolved to take.

Apelles, being ignorant of all that was designed against him, and not doubting but that, as soon as he should appear again in the presence of the king, all things should be administered by his directions as before, returned in haste from Chalcis to support his friends. As he came near to Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the peltastæ, with the rest of the most distinguished bodies of the army, employed all their pains to engage the troops to meet him at some distance from the city. Apelles therefore entered in a kind of triumph, attended by great numbers both of officers and soldiers, and went directly towards the apartments of the king. But as he was going to enter, agreeably to his former custom, a lictor, who had before received his orders, stopped him from advancing, and told him that the king was not then at leisure. Apelles stood for some time fixed in doubt and wonder, at a treatment so strange and unexpected, and afterwards retired in great disorder. The company that had attended in his train all fell away before his face; so that at last he was followed to his house by his own servants only. Thus it is that all men, in the course even of one short moment, attain the highest elevation, and again are sunk in ruin. But this chiefly happens to those that are found in the courts of kings. For as the counters, that are used in calculation, are made sometimes equal to a talent, sometimes to a farthing, at the will of

him who casts up the account; so these men likewise are either rich and splendid, destitute and involved in wretchedness, as the nod of their prince decrees. Megaleas, perceiving that he had hoped in vain to be protected by the power of Apelles against the danger which so nearly threatened him, resolved to save himself by flight. The king sometimes admitted Apelles to his presence, and favoured him with some slight marks of honour: but excluded him from all his counsels; and from the banquets which he celebrated with his friends, after the business of the day. Within some days afterwards, he sailed to Phocis from Lechæum, taking Apelles also with him. But he was forced to return again from Elatea, without being able to accomplish his designs. Megaleas seized the occasion of his absence, and fled to Athens; leaving Leontius engaged for the twenty talents which he had been condemned to pay. And when the magistrates of Athens refused to receive him within their city, he retired to Thebes.

The king embarked at Cirrha with his guards, and having landed in the port of Sicyon, went from thence into the city, and, paying no regard to the invitation of the magistrates, lodged himself in the house of Aratus, with whom he passed all his time, and sent Apelles back to Corinth. As soon also as he was informed that Megaleas had fled, he ordered Taurion to march with the peltastæ, who were commanded by Leontius, into Triphylia; on pretence that they were there to be employed in some action of importance. But as soon as they had left the city, he ordered Leontius to be led away to prison on account of the fine, for which he was engaged as surety for Megaleas. The peltastæ, being soon informed by messengers that were sent to them from Leontius of the danger into which he had fallen, immediately deputed some of their body to the king to desire, that if Leontius was charged with any new offence, no judgment might be passed upon him before their return; that otherwise, they should think themselves despised and greatly injured; for

such was the freedom with which the Macedonians always were accustomed to address their kings. They added also, that if nothing more was demanded of him than to pay the twenty talents for Megaleas, they would themselves discharge the debt by common contribution. But this eagerness which the soldiers shewed to save Leontius served only to incense the king much more against him, and hastened the order for his death.

About this time the ambassadors of Rhodes and Chios returned from Ætolia, having settled a truce of thirty days. They assured the king that the Ætolians were inclined to peace; and that if he would consent to meet their deputies at Rhium, on a day which they had named, he would find them heartily disposed to give a quick determination to the war. Philip consented to the truce; and wrote also to the allies, that they should send to Patræ some persons to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then embarked at Lechæum, and, after two days' sailing, arrived at Patræ. In this place he received some letters from Phocis, which had been written by Megaleas to the Ætolians; exhorting them to persist in the war with confidence, and assuring them that Philip would soon be forced, by the want of necessaries, to abandon all his projects. There were added also many severe and injurious calumnies, with regard both to the conduct and the person of the king. Philip, when he had seen these letters, was now fully sensible that Apelles was the chief contriver of all that had been done to obstruct his measures. He gave orders, therefore, that he should immediately be seized, and sent away under a guard to Corinth, together with his son, and a young man his favourite. At the same time he ordered Alexander to go to Thebes, and to cite Megaleas before the magistrates for the payment of his fine. But when this was done, Megaleas, not waiting for the sentence, destroyed himself with his own hands. Within some days afterwards Apelles also died, together with his

son, and favourite. Such was the fate which at last befel these traitors; a fate that was, in justice, due to all their past transactions, and especially to their insolent attempts against Aratus.

The Ætolians had wished indeed with earnestness to be delivered from a war that pressed them closely on every side, and which had proved in all points contrary to that which they had expected from it. For they had vainly hoped that they should be able to deal with Philip as with a child that was destitute of knowledge and experience. But this prince, both in forming his designs, and in carrying them also into execution, had shewn himself to be a perfect man; while themselves, on the other hand, appeared contemptible as children, as well in every single enterprise, as in the general conduct of the war. But when they received the news of the sedition that was raised among the troops, and of the deaths of Apelles and Leontius, they began to be persuaded that such disorders might ensue as would create no small embarrassment to the king. Flattered, therefore, by this hope, they neglected to send their deputies to Rhium on the appointed day. The king seized with joy the occasion that was thus thrown into his hands for continuing the war; both because he had the greatest hopes of a happy issue from it, and had also secretly resolved, before he arrived, that he would employ all his power to retard and obstruct the treaty. Instead, therefore, of advising the confederates who had joined him to entertain any thoughts of peace, he, on the contrary, encouraged them still to pursue the war with vigour; and then sailed back again to Corinth. From thence he sent the Macedonians away through Thessaly to pass the winter in their own country; while himself embarked at Cenchræ, and sailing round the coast of Attica, arrived through the Euripus at Demetrius. And there finding Ptolemy, who alone was left of those that had been engaged in the conspiracy with Leontius,

he brought him to a trial before some Macedonian judges, by whose sentence he was condemned to die.

This was the time in which Annibal, having entered Italy, was encamped in sight of the Roman army upon the banks of the river Po. Antiochus also, having subdued the greatest part of Cœle-Syria, had just now dismissed his army to their winter quarters. About the same time Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmon, was forced to fly into Ætolia to avoid the fury of the ephori. For these magistrates, deluded by a false report, that he designed to raise some disorders in the government, had drawn together a numerous party, and came to seize him in his house by night. But as he had received timely warning of the danger, he found means to escape with all his family.

The winter was now far advanced, and Philip had retired to Macedon. Eperatus also, the Achæan prætor, was so sunk in credit and esteem as well among the troops of the republic as the mercenaries, that no respect was paid to his commands, nor any measures taken to secure the country against the incursions of the enemy. The general of the Eleans, Pyrrhias, having reflected on these circumstances, took with him fourteen hundred Ætolians, the mercenaries of the Eleans, and the forces also of the province, amounting to one thousand foot and two hundred horse, so that the whole number of his forces was about three thousand men; and made many depredations without remission upon the lands of the Dymæans, the Pharæans, and Patræans; and having at last encamped upon a hill called Panachaicus, which stood above the city of Patræ, he ravaged all the country as far as Ægium and Rhium. The cities, being thus insulted and destroyed, and not able to obtain any effectual succours, began to withhold their contributions to the war. The mercenaries, on the other hand, perceiving that the payment of their stipends was, from time to time, neglected and delayed, refused to march to the assistance of the country. And thus while both

sides gratified alike their mutual discontent, the disorder was still increased, till the troops at last all deserted from the service. Such were the effects of the incapacity and weakness of Eperatus. But while all things were thus tending fast to ruin, his administration came at last to an end. At the approach of summer he resigned his office, and the Achæans made choice of the elder Aratus to be prætor. Such was the condition of affairs in Europe.

CHAP. IV.

FROM these transactions, since we are now arrived at a suitable period with respect to time, as well as at a proper pause likewise in the relation of affairs, we shall go on to describe what passed in Asia during the course of this same Olympiad; beginning, as we at first designed, with the war in which Antiochus and Ptolemy were engaged together for the sovereignty of Cœle-Syria. For though this war, with respect both to the commencement and the progress of it, was coincident with that which we have last described, and was extended also beyond the time in which we have now broken our narration, yet it seemed most proper that we should give in this place a distinct relation of it, and separate it from the affairs of Greece. Nor will the reader find it difficult to apprehend the exact time in which all things severally were transacted; since we have already taken care, in relating all that passed in Greece, to mention always the beginning and the end of the chief events that happened at the same time in Asia. But that our work might be, in every part, intelligible and clear, it seemed, as we have said, most proper that we should separate the affairs of these two countries, during the course only of this Olympiad. For in those that follow we shall interweave together in joint order all the great transactions that were coincident in time, and relate them as they happened from year to year.

As my design, indeed, the most important and exten-

sive, if I may be allowed to say it, of all that have hitherto been formed, is not to write the history of any single country, but to include together all the fortunes and transactions of every people and of every nation in the habitable earth, it will in a more especial manner be incumbent on me to dispose and regulate the whole with such skill and care as that the order and connexion of all that I relate may be fully and distinctly understood, as well through the work in general, as also in its several parts. With this design, I shall now look back to the earlier parts of the reign of Antiochus and Ptolemy; and beginning from some certain and established facts, from thence lead the reader to the war which I am going to describe. Nor is this care to be regarded as a matter of small importance. For when the ancients said that a work begun was half completed, their intention was to warn us that, in every undertaking, our greatest pains should be employed to make a good beginning. And though this manner of expression may be thought by many to be raised beyond the truth, yet, in my judgment, it rather falls below it. For he may boldly say, not only that a work begun is half completed, but also that the beginning is connected closely even with the end. For how can we properly begin, unless we have viewed our undertaking to its utmost bounds; and known, from whence the work is to proceed, to what limits we design to extend it, and what also is the end proposed? Or how again shall we be able to give any summary account of all that the work contains, unless we first compare together the beginning with the end, and place before us in one view the commencement, order, connexion, and dependencies, of those events of which we design to treat? As the beginning, therefore, is thus closely joined not only with the middle of the work, but also with the end, it ought at all times to engage the chief attention both of those that write and those also that read a general history. And this is that which I shall myself endeavour to observe with the greatest care.

I am not ignorant, indeed, that many others have boasted, like myself, that they have written a general history; and that their project is the greatest and the most important of any that were ever offered to the world. Among these is Ephorus; who was the first, and is indeed the only one, who seems to have been in truth engaged in such an undertaking. With regard to all the rest I shall at present forbear to name them; and will only say, that we have seen in our times some historians, who, when they have given a slight account, within the compass of a few pages only, of the war of Annibal against the Romans, have boldly called their work a general history, and yet all men know, that at this time were accomplished many very signal and important actions, both in Spain and Afric, in Sicily and Italy; and that this war, the most celebrated, and, if we except the first war of Sicily, the longest also in its continuance of any that we have ever known, drew the eyes of all mankind towards it, and filled their minds with anxious fear for the event. Yet these historians, when they have recorded fewer facts than even those painters who, in some of the cities of Greece, are employed from time to time to draw upon the walls a slight and general sketch of any actions that have happened, make no scruple to affirm, that they have included in their work the conduct and the various fortunes of the barbarians and the Greeks. But to say the truth, as on the one hand nothing is so easy as to engage, by words, in the most extensive undertakings; so on the other nothing is more difficult than to carry any great design effectually into execution. For the first lies within the power of all who possess only a sufficient share of confidence. But the latter is the portion of a few, and can scarcely be accomplished even in the course of a long and laborious life. Let these reflections, therefore, serve to moderate in some degree, the arrogance of those writers who so vainly extol their own productions. I now return again to the subject, from whence I was led into this digression.

Ptolemy, who was surnamed Philopator, having after the death of his father destroyed his brother Magas with all his friends, reigned alone in Egypt. As by this exploit he had freed himself from the dread of any domestic tumults, so fortune also seemed to have secured him against all danger from abroad. For Seleucus and Antigonus both were dead: and Antiochus and Philip, who succeeded in their kingdoms, were still in their most tender age. Flattered, therefore, by this prospect of tranquillity and ease, he began to waste his time in one continual course of sports and pleasures; secluding himself from every kind of business, and not permitting either the nobles of his court, or those that were intrusted with the administration of the kingdom, ever to approach him. With regard also to all the foreign provinces, the governors were left to pursue their own designs, without any enquiry or restraint. And yet these were the parts of their dominions which all former kings had at all times thought more worthy of their attention, even than Egypt. For thus, while they were masters of Cyprus, and of Cœle-Syria, they lay close upon the kings of Syria both by land and sea. Possessed also of the most considerable cities, posts, and harbours along the coast, from Pamphylia towards the Hellespont, as far as Lysimachia, they were always able to control the powers of Asia, and the islands. And, even with respect to Thrace and Macedon, they were still ready to attend to all commotions, and repel every danger that might threaten them, while they held a garrison in Ænos and Maronea, and in some cities also that were beyond them. By this wise policy, while their power was spread wide abroad, they reigned in full security in Egypt, which was covered against all attacks by the barrier of their distant provinces. It was not without good reason therefore, that they still watched over the condition of these countries with extreme attention. But Ptolemy rejected all this care; and abandoned himself at once to obscene amours and mad debauchery, without any intermission or reserve. And from

hence it happened, as it might indeed be reasonably expected, that within a short time afterwards many designs were formed to deprive him both of his kingdom and his life.

The first attempt was made against him by Cleomenes the Spartan. This prince, during the life-time of Euergetes, who had entered into a close alliance with him, remained satisfied and quiet; being persuaded that he should be able to obtain at some convenient time the assistance that was necessary to recover again his paternal kingdom. But when that monarch had been some time dead, and the affairs of Greece were in such condition that they seemed aloud to demand Cleomenes; when Antigonus was now also dead, the Achæans involved in war, and the Lacedæmonians, pursuing that very project which Cleomenes himself had formed, had joined their arms with the Ætolians against the Macedonians and Achæans; he was impatient to be gone from Alexandria, and urged his departure with the greatest earnestness. He at first desired to be dismissed, with some suitable supplies of troops and stores. And when this request was wholly disregarded, he begged that himself at least might be permitted to leave the kingdom with his family; since the times were now so favourable for obtaining again the sovereignty of which he had been deprived. The king being immersed in sloth and pleasure, paying no attention to any thing that was before him, and utterly regardless also of the future, still foolishly refused to hear the petitions of Cleomenes. But Sosibius, who was then the first in the administration of the kingdom, assembled together his friends to consider what was most proper to be done. In this council it was soon determined, that they would not send back Cleomenes with a fleet and forces. For besides that, from the time in which Antigonus had died, they had entirely disregarded all the affairs abroad, and, on that account, considered the expence that must attend this expedition as a thing unnecessary; they were apprehensive likewise, that

as there was now no general left that was equal to Cleomenes, this prince would soon be able to subdue all Greece with little difficulty, and might then turn his arms perhaps against themselves, and become to Egypt a most dangerous and formidable enemy. And this indeed was rather to be dreaded, because he had viewed the whole state of their affairs in the clearest light, had conceived a high and just contempt of the conduct and manners of the king; and had also seen that many parts of their dominions were independent and far separated from the rest, and offered many favourable opportunities for action to a dexterous enemy. For at this time there were many ships at Samos, and a considerable number also of troops at Ephesus. From these reasons they concluded that it was by no means proper to furnish him with the supplies that were desired. On the other hand, if they should dismiss a man so great and eminent after they had thus contemptuously slighted his request, it was manifest that he would from thence become their most implacable and sharpest enemy. It remained, therefore, that, in spite of his own desire and inclinations, he should be still detained at Alexandria. But this design was at once, without deliberation, condemned by all. For they judged it would be much too dangerous to shut up a lion in the same fold with sheep. Sosibius, more than all the rest, was apprehensive of the ill effects of such a measure; from the reasons which I am going to relate.

At the time when the design was formed to destroy Magas and Berenice, the persons who conducted it were distracted with no small solicitude; chiefly, lest the bold and resolute spirit of the princess should baffle their attempts, and defeat the whole conspiracy. In this apprehension they employed great pains to draw the courtiers to their party; and promised large rewards to all, in case that their project should be attended with success. Among the rest, Sosibius had recourse especially to Cleomenes; whom he knew to be a man of deep sense and judgment,

well versed in the conduct of great affairs, and who at this time was soliciting some assistance from the king. Flattering him therefore with the hopes of obtaining all that he desired, he disclosed to him the secret of the whole design. Cleomenes, perceiving that his mind was filled with doubt and apprehension, and that he dreaded more especially some resistance from the foreign troops, exhorted him to lay aside his fears; and promised that these mercenaries, instead of taking arms against him, should be even ready to assist him in his project, in case that there should be occasion for it. And when Sosibius appeared surprised at this assurance, "Do you not see," continued he, "that there are three thousand men from Peloponnesus, and a thousand Cretans; who all, at the least nod which I shall make, will join to execute your orders? And when these troops are drawn together for your defence, what have you left to dread? the soldiers of Syria and Caria?" Sosibius heard this discourse with pleasure, and was greatly encouraged by it to persist in his design. But afterwards, when he saw the weakness and effeminacy of the king, the words that were now spoken by Cleomenes were for ever present to his mind; and forced him to reflect continually upon the enterprising disposition of this prince, and the favour in which he stood among the mercenaries. At this time, therefore, he resolved to engage his friends, and Ptolemy himself, to consent that Cleomenes should be seized, and shut up in close confinement. And this was soon effected in the following manner.

There was a certain Messenian named Nicagoras, who had received the rights of hospitality from the father of Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon: and from thence some kind of intercourse, though slight and general, had been still preserved between the son also and himself. But when Archidamus, in order to avoid the vengeance of Cleomenes, was forced to fly from Sparta, and sought refuge in Messene, Nicagoras received him into his house, and supplied him with all necessaries: and, as they con-

versed together continually, a mutual inclination to each other by degrees took place, which, at last, was ripened into the most perfect confidence and friendship. When Cleomenes, therefore, some time afterwards, gave hopes that he would again be reconciled to Archidamus, and permit him to return, Nicagoras was employed at his own request to settle the conditions of the treaty. And when these were on both sides ratified, Archidamus set out to return to Sparta; and thought himself secure in the agreement, that had been thus negociated by his friend. But Cleomenes met him upon the road and killed him; but suffered Nicagoras, with the rest of the attendants, to escape. Nicagoras concealed his sentiments, and outwardly professed great obligations to Cleomenes, who had thus spared his life. But in his mind he bore a strong resentment of the action: because it seemed that through his means chiefly the king had fallen into the snare that proved so fatal to him.

This man then, about the time of which we are speaking, arrived at Alexandria, with some horses which he had brought to sell. As he came to land he saw Cleomenes, who was walking with Hippitas and Panteus, near the harbour. Cleomenes saluted him with great affection, and enquired the business of his voyage. And when Nicagoras told him that he had brought some horses, "I could wish," said he, "most heartily, that you had rather brought some catamites and dancers; for these are the amusement of the present king." Nicagoras then smiled, but made no reply. But some days afterwards, being admitted, upon the business of his horses, to the presence of Sosibius, in order to incense him against Cleomenes, he reported to him this discourse. And when he observed that he was heard with pleasure, he discovered all the grounds of his own aversion against that prince. When Sosibius found that he was in reality an enemy to Cleomenes, he offered to him some considerable presents, and promising also more, prevailed upon him to write a letter,

which should contain some charge against Cleomenes, and to leave it sealed with orders to a servant to deliver it within some days after his departure. Nicagoras entered readily into all the project, and sailed away from Alexandria. The letter was then delivered to Sosibius; who carried it, together with the servant, to the king. The servant declared that Nicagoras had left the letter, with orders that he should deliver it to Sosibius. The letter itself imported, that Cleomenes, if the king should still persist in refusing the supplies that were necessary for his return, had resolved soon to raise commotions in the kingdom. Sosibius, seizing the occasion, urged the king and all that were about him to admit no delay, but instantly to prevent the treason by securing the person of Cleomenes. And this accordingly was done. They allotted to him for his residence a house of great extent, in which he was guarded carefully: so that he differed in no respect from other prisoners, except only that his prison was of a larger size.

Cleomenes, when he had weighed all the circumstances of his present state, and perceived that there was no room left for hope, was determined to attempt and hazard every thing, in order to regain his liberty: not so much in expectation that he should be able to succeed in the design, since he was destitute of all the necessary means; but rather because he had resolved to die a glorious death, without suffering any thing that might disgrace his former greatness; having fixed, as I suppose, his whole attention upon that noble sentiment of the poet, so flattering to men of elevated minds:

> Welcome fate!
> 'Tis true I perish, yet I perish great:
> Yet in a mighty deed I shall expire;
> Let future ages hear it, and admire[a].

Having waited, therefore, till the king was gone from Alexandria to Canopus, he then spread a report among

[a] Pope, Iliad, 22.

his guards, that he should soon obtain his liberty. Upon this pretence he feasted all his family; and distributed among his soldiers also meat and wine, and crowns of flowers. The guards, not suspecting any kind of fraud, gave full indulgence to their appetites. And when at last they had drunk to great excess, Cleomenes, with his friends and servants, having poniards in their hands, passed through them unperceived, about the middle of the day. When they came into the street, they there met Ptolemy, who, in the absence of the king, was entrusted with the government of the city: and having struck a terror into his attendants, they pulled him from his chariot, and shut him up; and then called aloud to the people to resume their liberty. But when the multitude were all so struck with terror at the boldness of the attempt, that none approached to join them, they directed their way towards the citadel, with design to force their entrance, and take the prisoners to their assistance. But the officers, in apprehension of this accident, had strongly barred the gates. Disappointed, therefore, in this hope likewise, they at last killed themselves with their own poniards: and then shewed a courage that was truly Spartan. In this manner fell Cleomenes; a prince whose manners were dexterous and insinuating, as his capacity in the administration of affairs was great: and who, to express his character in a word, was most admirably formed by nature both for a general and a king.

Within a short time after this event, Theodotus the governor of Cœle-Syria, an Ætolian by his birth, resolved to enter into treaty with Antiochus, and to deliver to him the cities of his province. He was urged to this design partly by the contempt which he had conceived of Ptolemy, on account of his lazy and luxurious life; and partly also because he was persuaded that some ill designs had been formed against himself by the ministers of the court. For not long before, though he had performed many important services, as well on other occasions, as more

especially at the time in which Antiochus first invaded Cœle-Syria, he not only had received no reward or favour, but on the contrary was ordered to return to Alexandria, and even found it difficult to escape with life. Antiochus received his offer with the greatest joy: and the agreement was in a short time fully regulated. But we shall now perform for this house, likewise, what we have done with respect to Ptolemy; and looking back to the time in which Antiochus began to reign, shall from thence give a short account of the chief events to the commencement of the war which we are now preparing to describe.

CHAP. V.

ANTIOCHUS was the youngest son of Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus. As soon as his father was dead, and his elder brother had, in right of his birth, succeeded in the throne, he at first retired from the court, and fixed his residence in the upper Asia. But some time afterwards, when his brother having passed mount Taurus with an army was deprived of his life by treachery, as we before related, he returned and took possession of the kingdom; leaving to Achæus the government of the country that was on this side of mount Taurus. At the same time also he intrusted to the care of Molon, and of Alexander, Molon's brother, all the upper provinces; and appointed the first to be the governor of Media, and the other of Persis.

But not long afterwards, these two, despising the king on account of his tender age, being incited also by the hope that Achæus might be engaged to enter with them into their design, but chiefly because they dreaded the cruel disposition, and the wicked arts of Hermias, who was then the first in the administration of affairs, resolved to throw off their allegiance, and employ all their power to engage the upper provinces to revolt.

Hermias was, by birth, a Carian; and had been intrusted with the supreme direction of the kingdom by Seleucus, the brother of Antiochus, when he set out upon his expedition towards mount Taurus. Raised to this high post, he grew jealous of all besides that were in any manner distinguished in the court. And being by nature cruel, he sometimes aggravated little faults into crimes of moment, and punished them with the last severity. Sometimes, himself both forged the accusation and decided as the judge, without any remorse or pity. Above all the rest, he wished most earnestly for some occasion by which he might destroy Epigenes, who had led the forces back that had attended on Seleucus. For he knew that he was a man of eminent abilities, both in the cabinet and the field; and that his authority also among the troops was great. Having marked him, therefore, as the chief object of his fear and hatred, he attended carefully to every accident that might furnish him with some pretence against him. At this time, when the king had called together a council, to deliberate on the measures that were most proper to be taken against the rebels, and had commanded every man to speak his sentiments, Epigenes, who rose up the first, advised, that, in a matter of so near and great importance, no moment should be lost: that the king himself should hasten in person to the place, and not suffer the occasion to escape: that, by his presence in the country with a sufficient force, either Molon must at once be forced to abandon his designs, or, in case that he still should have the boldness to persist, the people would all join to seize, and deliver him a prisoner to the king. He had scarcely ended, when Hermias, rising full of rage, declared, that Epigenes, for a long time past, had harboured secretly such counsels in his heart, as were the most pernicious to the kingdom; but, that now his sentiments had appeared without disguise, since he had thus urged the king to march in person, into a country that

was armed against him, with a force too small for his security, and, in a word, to throw himself at once into the power of the rebels. He then said no more; but, being satisfied with having stamped this first bad impression of Epigenes, so that his words seemed rather the effect of an inconsiderate and hasty peevishness, than of any settled hatred, he went on to deliver his own opinion; which was, that the king should lay aside all thoughts of marching against Molon, and rather turn his arms against the king of Egypt. For, being himself unskilled in the affairs of war, he feared to encounter the danger, which this expedition seemed to promise: and was persuaded, on the other hand, that Ptolemy, a prince immersed in sloth and pleasure, might be attacked with little hazard. Having thus struck a terror into all the members of the council, he gave to Xenon, and to Theodotus, a native of Hermione, the conduct of the forces that were ordered to be sent against the rebels.

From this time also, he never ceased to press the king continually, to enter Cœle-Syria with an army; being persuaded, that if this young prince should be once inclosed on every side by war, perplexed with difficulties, and distressed by danger, he would stand so much in need of his constant counsel and assistance, that he never would be able to entertain a thought of enquiring into any of his former faults, or make any attempt to divest him of that power of which he was then possessed. At last, therefore, having forged a letter, which he pretended had been sent to him from Achæus, he carried it to the king. The import of it was, "that Ptolemy had strongly urged Achæus to assume the royal diadem, and promised to assist him both with ships and money, in case that he would declare himself the sovereign of the countries which he, at that time, governed: that, in fact, he already was the sovereign of them; and, why then should he envy himself the name, and foolishly reject the crown which was thus placed upon his head by fortune?" Antiochus

gave full credit to this letter, and was now fixed in the design of invading Cœle-Syria without delay.

About this time, while the king was at Seleucia, near Zeugma, Laodice, who was designed to be his wife, arrived from Cappadocia, conducted by Diognetus. She was the daughter of king Mithridates, and was a virgin. Mithridates himself derived his descent from one of those seven Persians who killed the Magus; and boasted also, that his kingdom, which stood upon the coast of the Euxine sea, was the same which had first been given to his ancestors by Darius. Antiochus, attended by a numerous train of courtiers, met the princess on her journey; and solemnized the nuptials with such splendour and magnificence, as were worthy of a king. From thence he went down to Antiochia; and, having declared Laodice his queen, began to make all the necessary preparations for the war.

During this time, Molon, with the assistance of his brother Alexander, who engaged, without reserve, in the same design, drew to his party all the people of his government; partly by the promise of great riches and rewards, and partly also by intimidating the chief men of the country, to whom he shewed some letters of a severe and threatening strain, which he pretended to have been written by the king. He took care also to secure himself against all danger from the neighbouring provinces; having, by large presents, gained the favour of the governors. And, when his measures were all fully regulated, he began his march with a very numerous army, and advanced to meet the forces of the king.

The generals Xenon and Theodotus were struck with terror at his approach, and retired into the cities. Molon, therefore, became at once the master of all the country round Apollonia, which abounded with supplies and stores of every kind in the greatest quantity. Before this success, his power, indeed, was greatly to be dreaded, on account of the riches and the wide extent of the country which he governed. For all the royal herds of horses are

bred among the Medes. Their cattle and their fruits are scarcely to be numbered. Nor is it easy to express the natural strength and greatness of this province.

For Media, which is situated near the midst of Asia, far surpasses every other province, as well in its extent, as in the height also, and the number of the mountains with which the country all is covered. It commands likewise many great and powerful nations, that are situated close upon the borders of it. On the side towards the east are those desert plains that lie between Persis and Parrhasia; the passes that are called the Caspian gates; and the Tapyrian mountains, which are not far distant from the Hyrcanian sea. On the south it extends towards the borders of Mesopotamia, Apollonia, and Persis; and is covered by the mountain Zagrus, which rises to a hundred stadia in its height; and whose summit, being parted into many separate hills, forms deep declivities and spacious valleys, which are inhabited by the Cossæans, the Corbrenæ, Carchians, and other barbarous tribes, all celebrated for their prowess and dexterity in war. Towards the west it is closely joined to the people called the Atropatians; who themselves are not far distant from the nations that reside upon the borders of the Euxine sea. And lastly, this province, on the side towards the north, is bounded by the Elymæans, Ariaracæ, Caddusians, and the Matianians; and commands those countries, likewise, that extend towards that part of the Pontus which is joined with the Mæotis. The province itself is broken into many parts, by various chains of mountains, which cover it, at certain distances, from east to west: and the plains between are all filled with villages and cities. Molon, therefore, being master of a province so considerable, and which was indeed itself a kingdom, was before, as we have said, very greatly to be dreaded. But now, when the generals of the king had yielded to him all the open country, and this first success had inspired his troops with confidence, his power appeared so great and

formidable that all the people of Asia were struck with consternation, and began to lose all hope of being able to resist his arms. At first, therefore, he resolved to pass the Tigris, and to besiege Seleucia. But being prevented in this design by Zeuxis, who had removed all the boats that were upon the river, he retreated back again to a place that was called the Camp, in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, and made the necessary preparations to pass the winter there with his army.

As soon as the king received the news that Molon had already made so quick a progress, and that his generals had retired before him, he resumed again his first design, and resolved to suspend his expedition against Ptolemy, and to march without any new delay immediately against the rebels. But Hermias, persisting still in his former project, gave to Xenœtas, an Achæan, the supreme command of all the forces, and sent him against Molon. It was proper, he said, that generals should be employed to bring back rebellious subjects to their duty; but that a king should only take the field against a king, when the contest was for glory and for empire. And as Antiochus was at this time wholly in his power, he immediately began his march to Apamea; assembled the troops together; and from thence advanced to Laodicea. From this city, the king continued his route with all the army, and having passed the desert, entered a close and narrow valley, which lies between the Libanus and Antilibanus, and is called the Vale of Marsyas. The narrowest part of the valley is covered by a lake and marshy ground, from whence are gathered aromatic reeds. The two sides of it are secured by two fortresses, the one of which is called Bronchi, and the other Gerrha, which leave but a very inconsiderable space between them. The king, having marched some days along the valley, and, in his way, reduced the cities that were near, came at last to Gerrha: and, finding that Theodotus the Ætolian had posted a sufficient force in both the fortresses, had fortified with trenches and with

palisades the pass that led along the lake, and had placed some troops in every part that was commodious for it, he, at first, endeavoured to dislodge the enemy, and to force his passage. But, as all the posts were thus strongly fortified, he suffered great loss in the attempt, without being able to annoy the enemy. And, as Theodotus also was at this time firm in the interests of his master, he, at last, was forced to abandon the design.

Antiochus, being thus repulsed, and not able to surmount the difficulties that were before him, at the same time also received the news that Xenœtas had suffered an entire defeat, and that all the upper provinces had submitted to the rebels. He resolved, therefore, to lay aside at once all farther thoughts of the expedition in which he was now engaged, and to turn back again without delay to the assistance of his own proper kingdom.

For Xenœtas being raised, as we have said, to the supreme command, and invested with a power to which his hopes had never dared to aspire, rejected with disdain the counsels of his friends, and pursued, in all his conduct, the dictates only of his own hasty and impetuous will. He led the army, however, to Seleucia; and being joined there by Diogenes and Pythiades, the first of whom was governor of the Susian province, and the other of the Red Sea, he advanced with all his forces, and encamped in sight of the enemy, having the Tigris in his front. But being assured by many soldiers, who swam over to him from the camp of Molon, that, if he would pass the river, the whole army of the rebels, who were jealous of their general's greatness, and in their hearts still preserved a strong affection for the king, would at once embrace his party, he resolved immediately to transport his forces to the other side; and at first made a show as if he had designed to lay a bridge across the river in a part that formed a kind of island. But as he was wholly destitute of all things that were proper for his purpose, this attempt gave no solicitude to Molon. But afterwards when he had drawn together all

the boats that he was able to procure, he selected from the army the bravest of the forces, both infantry and cavalry, and leaving the care of the camp to Zeuxis and Pythiades, he marched down the stream to the distance of about eighty stadia from the place in which Molon lay encamped, passed the river without resistance, and encamped upon a very advantageous ground, which was almost every way surrounded by the river, and covered also in the other parts by pools and marshes that were not easy to be passed. As soon as Molon was informed of what had happened, he sent away his cavalry, in the hope that they would be able with little difficulty to intercept the forces as they passed the river, and obtain an easy victory over those that had already gained the land. But these troops, as they approached, were themselves soon vanquished, without any efforts of the enemy. For being wholly unacquainted with the ground, they were plunged at every step into pits and pools; and being thus deprived of the power of resisting, were there all destroyed. Xenœtas, who was still persuaded that the rebels, upon his first approach, would run to embrace his party, continued his march afterwards along the river, and encamped very near the enemy. Molon, either by stratagem, or because he was apprehensive that the troops might indeed be inclined to join Xenœtas, left all his baggage behind him in the camp, and, beginning his march by night, directed his route towards Media. Xenœtas, not doubting but that the retreat of Molon was the effect of fear and want of confidence in his troops, took possession of the camp from which the enemy had retired; and brought over also all his cavalry, together with the baggage, which he had left on the other side of the river under the command of Zeuxis. He then assembled the troops together, and exhorted them boldly to expect a happy issue from the war, since Molon had already fled. He ordered them to take their full repast, and to be ready at break of day to pursue the enemy. The soldiers, being thus filled with confidence, and finding all kinds of pro-

visions in the camp, began to eat and drink without any moderation or restraint, till they fell at last into that state of careless and insensible security, which is the usual attendant of excess.

But Molon, when he had gained a proper distance, ordered his troops to take their supper, and then returned again towards the camp; and arriving about break of day forced the intrenchments, and fell with fury upon the enemy while they were all dispersed and drowned in wine. Xenœtas, struck with consternation, and having in vain employed his efforts to raise the soldiers from their drunken sleep, threw himself into the middle of the combatants, and lost his life. The greatest part of the troops were destroyed sleeping in their beds. The rest plunged into the river, and hoped to gain the camp that was on the other side. But of these the greater part were also lost. In a word, disorder, noise, and tumult were spread through all the camp. Every mind was filled with horror and distraction. In this state the troops, as they turned their eyes towards the camp on the opposite shore, which stood in full view, and at a very inconsiderable distance from them, forgot at once the strength and rapid violence of the stream that was between. Blinded, therefore, by their fears, and urged by the eager hopes of life, they leaped into the river; and even threw into it their horses and their baggage, as if the stream, by some kind of providential care, would have assisted them in their distress, and wafted them to the opposite bank in safety. But how lamentable, and how full of horror, was the scene! Men struggling with the waters; horses also, and beasts of burthen, floating down the stream; with arms, dead carcases, and every kind of baggage.

Molon, being thus master of the camp, passed the river without resistance, and gained possession also of the other camp, from which Zeuxis had retired at his approach. After this success he advanced with all his army to Seleucia, and took it in the first assault; for Zeuxis still fled

before him, together with Diomedon, the governor of the city. From hence he marched through the country, and subdued without any difficulty all the upper provinces. Having made himself master of Babylon, with the country which extends along the borders of the Red Sea, he came to Susa, and took this city also in the first assault; but failed in his attempt to reduce the citadel, into which Diogenes had thrown himself with a body of forces. Leaving, therefore, one part of his army to invest the place, he returned back again with the rest to Seleucia, upon the Tigris. And having carefully refreshed his troops, and encouraged them to pursue the war, he again took the field, and subdued all the country which lay along the Tigris, and was called Parapotamia, as far as to the city Europus, and all Mesopotamia likewise as far as Dura.

The news of these rapid victories forced Antiochus, as we have already said, to lay aside all thoughts of reducing Cœle-Syria, and to turn his whole attention upon the danger which so nearly threatened him. He assembled, therefore, a second council, and commanded every one to declare his sentiments with respect to the measures that were most proper to be taken to check the progress of the rebels. Epigenes again spoke the first, and said, that before the enemy had gained such great advantages, his opinion was, that the king should march himself into the country without delay; and that he still persisted in the same advice. He had scarcely ended when Hermias, giving now full scope to his resentment, vented his rage in severe reproaches, and charged Epigenes with many bitter accusations, which were both absurd and false. He extolled the merit also of his own great services; and pressed the king, with the utmost earnestness, by no means to desist from his first design, or abandon, upon so slight a shew of reason, the hopes which he had conceived of joining Cœle-Syria to his empire. But this conduct gave no small offence to the whole assembly. Antiochus himself was also much displeased; and employed all his power to quiet

the contention; which he at last indeed effected, but not without great difficulty. The measures which Epigenes had advised were approved by all the council, as the wisest and most necessary in the present circumstances. It, therefore, was resolved, that all other business should give place, and that the king should employ all his force against the rebels without delay.

As soon as the affair was thus decided, Hermias let fall at once all farther contest, and conformed himself to this opinion, together with the rest. And declaring also, that when a resolution once was taken, every man was obliged in duty to receive it without objection or excuse, he applied himself in earnest, and with the greatest diligence, to make all the necessary preparations for the war. But when the troops were drawn together to Apamea, and a sedition had broken out among them, on account of some arrears that were owing to them from their pay, observing that the king was filled with consternation, and seemed to fear that this disorder, having happened at a time so critical, might be attended with some fatal consequences, he offered to discharge, at his own expence, the allowance that was due, on condition only that Epigenes should be dismissed. For he said, that as their mutual contests and resentment had been raised to such a height, it was greatly to be feared that their presence together in the army would soon prove the source of some new disorders, which might be fatal in the conduct of the war. The king, who knew that Epigenes had gained a consummate skill in the art of war, and who wished especially, on that account, that he might attend him in his expedition, received this demand with great reluctance and concern. But being pressed and closely urged on every side by the officers of the house, and by all his guards and servants, whom Hermias, by his wicked artifices, had engaged in his designs, he was no longer master of himself, but was forced to yield to what the times required; to consent to all that was proposed, and to send orders to Epigenes that he should remain at Apa-

mea. The members of the council were all seized with terror. The troops, having obtained their wishes, returned again to their duty, and were disposed to advance all the interests of Hermias, who had thus procured the payment of their stipends. The Cyrrhestæ alone, who were in number about six thousand men, persisted still in their revolt; and having separated themselves from the rest of the army, for some time occasioned no small trouble. But they were at last defeated in a set engagement with one of the generals of the king; who destroyed the greater part of them in the action, and forced the rest to surrender at discretion.

Hermias, having thus struck all the friends of the king with terror, and secured to himself the favour and affection of the army, began his march, together with the king; and about the same time also, formed the following contrivance to destroy Epigenes; having engaged in his design Alexis, who commanded in the citadel of Apamea. A letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes, and was placed privately among his papers by a servant, whom they had gained by large promises to their party. Some time afterwards, Alexis came to Epigenes, and demanded, whether he had not received some letters from the rebels. Epigenes, not without some shew of indignation, denied the charge. But Alexis, having replied that he would search, entered hastily into his apartments, found the letter, and upon that pretence immediately killed Epigenes. The king was prevailed on to believe that he had merited his fate; and those that were about the court, though they had some suspicion of the treachery, were restrained to silence by their fears.

The king now advanced towards the Euphrates, and being joined by the forces that were there, he continued his march from thence, and came to Antiochia in Mygdonia about the beginning of the winter. And having rested during forty days, till the extreme severity of the cold was passed, he again decamped, and arrived at Liba, and there

called together his council, to deliberate on the route by which he should advance against the rebels, who were at this time in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and to consider also by what means the army might most commodiously be furnished with provisions in their march. In this assembly it was urged by Hermias, that they should continue their route along the Tigris; by which means they would be covered not only by that river, but by the Lycus also, and the Caprus. Zeuxis, to whose view the late lamentable fortune of Epigenes was present, for some time feared to declare his sentiments. But as the measure that was now proposed was sure to be attended with inevitable ruin, he at last ventured to advise, that they should pass the Tigris. He shewed, "that in general the route along the river was very rough and difficult; that after having advanced to a considerable distance, and passed a desert also, which was not to be traversed in less than six days' march, they must at last arrive at the place that was called the Royal Camp; that if the enemy should first have gained possession of this post it would be impossible for them to advance beyond it; nor could they, on the other hand, return back again through the desert without the danger of being lost in their retreat, through the want of necessaries; whereas, on the other hand, if the king would now pass the river, it was not to be doubted but that all the Apollonians would seize at once the occasion of his presence, and return again to their duty, since they were joined to Molon not by any affection, but by necessity and fear; that as the country was rich and fertile, the troops might from thence be furnished with provisions in the greatest plenty; that Molon being thus cut off from his return to Media, and deprived of the subsistence likewise which he had hitherto received from all this province, must of necessity be forced to venture on a battle; or in case he should decline it, that his troops would soon revolt, and run to embrace the party of the king." This opinion was consented to by all. They divided the army, therefore,

into three separate bodies; passed the river in three different parts with all their baggage; and came to Dura, which was then besieged by one of the generals of Molon. But the siege was raised upon their first approach. They then continued their march forwards without delay, and having on the eighth day passed beyond the Oricus, arrived at Apollonia.

When Molon was informed that Antiochus advanced fast towards him, distrusting on the one hand the fidelity of the people of Susiana and of Babylon, who had so lately been constrained to join his party, and dreading also, on the other hand, that his return to Media might be soon cut off, he resolved to lay a bridge across the Tigris, to transport his army over, and possess himself, before Antiochus, of those mountains that stood upon the borders of the Apollonian territory; being persuaded, that with the assistance of his Cyrtian slingers, who were very numerous, he should be able to maintain that post against the king. This design was immediately carried into execution. He passed the river, and continued his march forwards with the greatest haste. But when he had just reached the mountains, his light-armed troops that were sent before, were met by those of the king, who had also begun his march from Apollonia with all his army. These troops at first engaged together in some slight skirmishes; but as the main bodies now approached, they severally retired, and encamped together with their respective armies, leaving the distance of about forty stadia between the camps.

When night came on, Molon, having considered with himself how difficult and dangerous it was to lead an army of rebels against their sovereign, face to face, and in the clear light of day, resolved to attack Antiochus in the night. He selected, therefore, all the bravest of his troops, and taking a circuit round, designed to choose some eminence, and to fall from thence upon the royal camp. But being informed that ten young soldiers had left him in the march, and gone to join the king, he was forced to desist

from this design, and return back again to his own intrenchments, which he entered about break of day, and spread great disorder through all the camp. For the soldiers, being thus suddenly awakened from their sleep, were so terrified by the noise and tumult of his entry, that they began to fly with great precipitation from the camp. Molon employed all his pains to calm their apprehensions, and, as effectually as the time would then permit, quieted the disorder.

As soon as day appeared, the king, having drawn out all his forces, ranged them in order of battle. Upon the right wing he placed first the cavalry that were armed with lances, under the command of Ardys, a general of consummate skill and bravery. Next to these were the Cretan troops; then the tectosages; after these, the Grecian mercenaries; and last of all, in the same line, the phalanx. Upon the left wing stood the cavalry, who were called the companions of the king. The elephants, which were ten in number, were stationed, at certain distances, in front of all the army. Some cohorts also both of infantry and cavalry were distributed into both the wings; with orders that they should surround the enemy, and fall upon their flank, as soon as the battle was begun. The king then went round the army, and raised the courage of the troops by a short harangue, such as the time required. He gave the care of the left wing to Hermias and Zeuxis, and himself commanded in the right.

Molon drew out likewise all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle, but not without the greatest difficulty; for the tumult and confusion that were raised in the night before had not yet subsided. At last, however, having observed the disposition of the enemy, he placed his cavalry also upon the wings; and the peltaphori, the Gauls, and all his heavy-armed forces in the centre. The archers, slingers, and all the rest of the light-armed troops were thrown into the extremity of either wing; and the chariots, armed with falchions, were disposed, at certain distances,

in the front of all the army. The left wing was commanded by his brother Neolas, and himself led the right.

The two armies now approached each other, and began the combat. The right wing of Molon remained firm to their engagements, and bravely sustained the charge of Zeuxis. But the left no sooner had beheld the presence of the king, than they joined themselves immediately to his party. This accident, as it inspired the royal troops with double ardour, struck the rebels with consternation and despair. Molon, perceiving what had happened, and being already inclosed on every side, representing also to his mind the cruel torments which he must soon be forced to suffer in case that he should fall alive into the power of the enemy, killed himself with his own hands. The rest of the chiefs likewise, who had joined in the revolt, retired all to their several houses, and embraced a voluntary death. Neolas, escaping from the battle, fled into Persis, to Alexander the brother of Molon. And when he had first killed Molon's mother, together with his children, and prevailed on Alexander also to consent to die, he then pierced himself with his own sword, and fell upon their bodies. The king plundered the camp of the rebels; and ordered the body of Molon to be exposed upon a cross in the most conspicuous part of Media. This accordingly was done. The body was removed into the district of Callonitis, and was there fixed upon a cross, upon the ascent of the mountain Zagrus. He then reproached the troops with their rebellion in a long and severe harangue; but gave them afterwards his hand in sign of pardon, and appointed some persons also to conduct them back again to Media, and to quiet the disorders of the country; while himself, returning to Seleucia, restored peace among the neighbouring provinces, and displayed in all his conduct not less gentleness than prudence. But Hermias, still inexorable and severe, urged the guilt of the people of Seleucia; imposed the payment of a thousand talents upon

the city; drove into banishment the magistrates; and dismembered, tortured, and destroyed great numbers of the inhabitants. The king exerted all his power to restrain this fury; employing sometimes entreaties and persuasions, and sometimes interposing his authority. He lessened also the fine that was at first demanded from the citizens, and exacted a hundred and fifty talents only, in full punishment of their offence. And thus, though not without great difficulty, he at last calmed their minds, and restored quiet to the city. When this was done, he appointed Diogenes to be governor of Media, and Apollodorus of Susiana; and sent Tychon, the chief secretary, to command in the parts that bordered upon the Red Sea. Such was the end of the revolt of Molon, and of the disorders that were occasioned by it in the upper provinces.

The king, elate with this success, and being willing also to restrain, for the time to come, the barbarous states that were contiguous to his kingdom from assisting his rebellious subjects with supplies or troops, resolved now to turn his arms against Artabazanes, who governed the Atropatians, with some others of the neighbouring nations, and who, of all the princes of the country, was the most considerable in strength and power. Hermias, apprehending still the danger that must attend an expedition into these upper provinces, for some time stood averse to this design, and was eager to resume his former project, of engaging in a war with Ptolemy. But when he heard that a son was born to the king, he began to reflect within himself that among those barbarous nations some misfortune possibly might happen to Antiochus, and that many occasions would arise in which he might be deprived of life. He consented, therefore, to all that was proposed; being persuaded, that if he could once be able to destroy the king, he should become the guardian of his son, and master of all the kingdom. When the affair was thus decided, Antiochus began his march with all his forces, passed beyond the Zagrus, and entered the territory of Artabaza-

nes, which lies close to Media, and is only separated from it by a chain of mountains. It extends towards those parts of the Pontus which are above the river Phasis, and approaches also very near to the Hyrcanian sea. The country abounds with people who are robust and valiant, and especially with horses; and produces likewise every kind of necessaries that are required in war. This kingdom, having never been subdued by Alexander, had remained entire from the time of the destruction of the Persian empire. But Artabazanes, struck with terror at the king's approach, and being also at this time very far advanced in age, yielded to the necessity that pressed him, and submitted without reserve to such conditions as were demanded by the king.

About this time Apollophanes, who was physician to Antiochus, and who stood in a high degree of favour with him, observing that the insolence and the ambitious views of Hermias no longer were restrained within any bounds, began to entertain some apprehensions with respect to the person of the king, and was still more alarmed by his fears for his own life and safety. He chose the time, therefore, that was most favourable to his purpose, and pressed Antiochus to raise himself from his security; to be upon his guard against the daring spirit of this minister, and to obviate in time that lamentable fate in which his brother had so lately perished. He assured him that the danger was already very near; and begged that he would pursue without delay such measures as might best secure both himself and all his friends. Antiochus, upon this discourse, acknowledged that he both feared and hated Hermias; and thanked Apollophanes for his concern, and for the courage also which he had shewn in speaking to him upon such a subject. Apollophanes was overjoyed to find that he had formed so true a judgment of the sentiments and disposition of the king. And when Antiochus desired him not to be content with words alone, but endeavour rather, in conjunction with himself, to find out some effectual remedy

against the danger, he assured him that he was ready to obey all his orders. Their design was soon concerted. On pretence that the king was seized with a giddiness in his head, the servants of his chamber, with all the ordinary guards, were for some days removed, and his friends alone were admitted to his presence; by which means there was full time and opportunity to communicate the secret to such persons as were proper to be trusted. When they had gained the number that was sufficient for their purpose, a task which, as Hermias was so generally detested, was by no means difficult, they prepared to carry their project into execution. The physicians advised that the king should walk abroad as soon as it was day to take the benefit of the cold morning air. At the appointed time Hermias was ready to attend him, together with those friends that were engaged in the design. But the rest of the court were absent, not expecting that the king would appear abroad at so unusual an hour. When they were come to a certain solitary place at some distance from the camp, the king turned aside as if to satisfy some necessary occasion, and they then stabbed Hermias with their poniards. Thus fell this minister by a punishment that was far too gentle for his crimes. Antiochus, being thus delivered from his fears, immediately decamped, and directed his route back again to Syria. In every place through which he passed, his actions all were celebrated by the people with the loudest praise; and above the rest, the fate which he had decreed to Hermias. About the same time also, the wife of Hermias was killed at Apamea by the women of the city, and his children by the children.

As soon as the king arrived at home, and had dismissed his army to their winter quarters, he sent letters to Achæus filled with expostulations and reproaches, on account of his having dared to place upon his head the royal diadem, and usurped the name of king. He assured him, likewise, that he was well acquainted with the measures which he

had concerted with king Ptolemy, and that in general he was perfectly informed of those rebellious projects which he had designed against him. For while Antiochus was engaged in his expedition against Artabazanes, Achæus, being persuaded either that the king would perish in the war, or that, before he could be able to return again from a country so remote, himself might enter Syria with an army, and with the assistance of the Cyrrhestæ, who had just before revolted, might force that kingdom to receive his yoke, began his march from Lydia with all his army; and when he arrived at Laodicea in Phrygia, he there first assumed the diadem, and wrote letters in the royal name to all the cities; being encouraged chiefly in this design by a certain exile, whose name was Syniris. But as he continued his march forwards, and was ready just to enter Lycaonia, the troops, beginning to perceive that his intention was to lead them against their natural prince, fell into discontent and mutiny. Achæus, therefore, after this declaration of their sentiments, desisted from his project; and in order to convince the army that he never had designed to enter Syria, he changed the direction of his march, and pillaged the province of Pisidia. And having thus, by the booty that was made, regained the confidence and favour of the troops, he returned back again to his own home. But Antiochus had been fully informed of all that was designed against him. He sent, therefore, as we have said, continual messengers to threaten and reproach Achæus; and, in the mean while, employed his whole pains and diligence in completing all the necessary preparations for his war with Ptolemy.

As the spring approached, having drawn together to Apamea all his forces, he held there a consultation with his friends to deliberate on the manner in which he best might enter Cœle-Syria. Upon this occasion, when many long discourses had been made concerning the nature of the country, the preparations that were necessary, and the advantage of employing a naval armament, Apollophanes,

whom we have lately mentioned, and who was a native of Seleucia, cut short at once every opinion that had been proposed, and said, "that it seemed to be in a high degree absurd to shew so great eagerness and haste to conquer Cœle-Syria; while, at the same time, Seleucia, the capital of the kingdom, and their sacred seat of empire, was still suffered to remain in the hands of Ptolemy; that besides the dishonour that was reflected upon the king from suffering his chief city to be possessed by an Egyptian garrison, the place itself was such as would afford many very great advantages for the conduct of the war; that while an enemy was master of it, it must prove a constant obstacle in the way of all their enterprises; since whenever they should attempt to advance into a distant province, the danger which would constantly hang over their own kingdom from this city, would oblige them to employ not less pains and preparation to secure the several posts at home, than those that would be requisite in their expedition against the enemy abroad; but that, on the other hand, if they could once regain possession of this place, as their own kingdom would by that means be perfectly secured from insult, so the happy situation also of the city might enable them to pursue with great advantage all their other projects both by land and sea." These sentiments were approved by all the council. It was resolved, therefore, to begin the war with attempting to retake Seleucia; which had been possessed by an Egyptian garrison from the time of Ptolemy Euergetes. For this prince, in resentment of the death of Berenice, had entered Syria with an army, and made himself master of this city. When the affair was thus determined, the king ordered Diognetus to steer his course towards Seleucia with the fleet, while himself began his march from Apamea, and came and encamped near the Circus, at the distance of five stadia from the city. He sent also Theodotus, the Hermionian, into Cœle-Syria with a sufficient body of forces to secure

the passes, and to be ready to act on that side as occasion should require.

The situation of Seleucia, with the country round it, is as follows. The city stands very near the sea, between Cilicia and Phœnice, at the foot of a mountain of an uncommon height, which is called Coryphæus. This mountain, on the western side, is washed by the sea that divides Cyprus and Phœnice; and, on the side towards the east, it commands the country that lies round Antiochia and Seleucia. The city itself, being situated on the southern side of the mountain, and separated from it by a valley very deep and steep, winds away towards the sea, and is surrounded on almost every side by broken rocks and precipices. In the plain, between the city and the sea, are the markets and the suburbs, which are strongly fortified with walls. The city also is inclosed with walls of an uncommon strength and beauty, and is adorned with temples and other sumptuous edifices. On the side towards the sea it can only be approached by a steep ascent of steps, which are cut close and deep into the rocks. Not far from the city is the mouth of the river Orontes; which takes its source near the Libanus and Antilibanus, and passing through the plains of Amyca, flows on to Antiochia, and, having cleansed that city of all its filth, falls at last into the sea of Cyprus near Seleucia.

Antiochus, upon his first approach, endeavoured, by the assurance of very great rewards, to prevail on the chief governors to surrender the city to him. But when all his offers were rejected, he found means to gain some of the inferior officers to his party; and trusting to the assistance which these had promised, he resolved immediately to attack the city on the side towards the sea with the naval forces, and with the land army on the opposite side. He divided the troops, therefore, into three separate bodies, and having encouraged them as the occasion re-

quired, and promised crowns and great rewards both to the officers and soldiers, he posted Zeuxis, with the forces that were under his command, against the gates which led to Antiochia, and Hermogenes on the side that looked towards Dioscurium. Ardys and Diognetus were commanded also to attack the port and suburbs. For the officers, that were corrupted by the king, had promised that, as soon as he should have forced the suburbs, they would deliver the city to him. The signal was now given for the attack, and the troops advanced from every part with vigour; but chiefly those that were led by Ardys and Diognetus. For, on the other sides, the soldiers were forced to crawl to a considerable distance upon their hands and feet, and at the same time defend themselves against the enemy, before they could attempt to scale the walls. But in the port and suburbs there was full room to advance, and to fix their ladders, even without resistance. While the forces, therefore, from the fleet scaled the port, Ardys having, at the same time, forced his way into the suburbs, became master of them with little difficulty. For those that were within the city, being themselves closely pressed on every side, were not able to send any assistance to the rest. When the king was thus master of the suburbs, the officers who had been gained over to his interests ran together to Leontius, the governor of the city, and urged him to send a deputation to Antiochus, and endeavour to obtain some fair conditions from him, before the city also should be stormed. Leontius, not suspecting any treachery, and being himself struck also with the consternation which these men now assumed, sent and demanded from Antiochus a promise of life and safety for all that were within the city. The king consented that those who were of free condition should be safe. The number of them was about six thousand. He then entered the city, and not only spared the inhabitants that were free, but permitted those also that had fled from the city to return; and restored to them their possessions,

with all their former rights. He secured also, by a sufficient garrison, the port and citadel.

CHAP. VI.

WHILE Antiochus was thus employed, he received letters from Theodotus, who pressed him to advance into Cœle-Syria without delay, and promised to deliver up the province to him. The king was for some time doubtful and irresolute, and knew not what measures were the best to be pursued. Theodotus, as we have already mentioned, was an Ætolian by his birth, and had performed great services for Ptolemy; but instead of being able to obtain any suitable reward, he on the contrary had almost lost his life. At the time therefore in which Antiochus was engaged in his expedition against Molon, perceiving clearly that no favour was to be expected from king Ptolemy, and that the courtiers also had resolved to work his ruin, he prevailed on Panætolus to secure the city of Tyre, while himself seized Ptolemais; and now pressed Antiochus with the greatest earnestness to attempt the conquest of the province. The king, therefore, having at last resolved to suspend awhile his designs against Achæus, began his march towards Cœle-Syria, by the same route which he before had taken; passed through the Vale of Marsyas, and encamped near the fortress Gerrha, which was situated in the extremity of the valley, upon the lake that covered the defile. But being informed that Nicolaus, one of the generals of Ptolemy, had invested Theodotus in Ptolemais, he advanced in haste with the light armed troops, with design to raise the siege; having left behind him all his heavy forces, and given orders to the generals to lay siege to Brochi, the other fortress, which stood also upon the lake, and served to guard the entrance of the defile. Nicolaus no sooner heard that the king approached, than he immediately retired; and sent Lago-

ras a Cretan, and Dorymenes an Ætolian, to secure the passes that were near Berytus. But the king, upon his first approach, attacked and drove them from their post, and encamped near the passes. And having there received the rest of the troops as they came up, and encouraged them by such words as his designs required, he continued his march forwards, elate with his success and filled with the fairest hopes. About this time also Theodotus and Panætolus, with all their friends, advanced to join him, and were received with the greatest marks of favour. The king then took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, with all the armaments and stores. Among these were forty vessels; of which twenty, that were decked ships, completely fitted and equipped, carried each of them at least four ranks of oars. The rest were triremes, biremes, and single boats. The king left the care of all this fleet to Diognetus: and having been informed that Ptolemy had retired to Memphis, and that the forces of the kingdom were drawn together at Pelusium; that the sluices all were opened, and the sweet waters diverted from their course; he desisted from his first design of marching to attack Pelusium, and leading his army round the country, drew the cities to submission, some by gentle means, and some by force. For those that were slightly fortified surrendered to him at his first approach. But others, which were strongly situated, and well supplied with stores, remained firm against all persuasion, and forced him to encamp before them, and employ much time and pains to reduce them by a regular siege.

During this time, Ptolemy, whose dominions, thus perfidiously attacked, demanded the earliest care, remained wholly insensible of all that was transacted, and shewed not even the least desire to revenge the insult. Such was the weakness of this lazy and luxurious prince; and so great his disregard of every thing that related to the affairs of war. But Sosibius and Agathocles, who were the first in the administration of the kingdom, agreed together to

pursue those measures, which were, indeed, the best that could be taken in the present circumstances. For they resolved, that they would make all the necessary preparations for the war with the greatest diligence, and, in the mean while, send ambassadors to Antiochus to treat of peace: being persuaded, that, by this contrivance, they should give a present check to the ardour of that prince, and confirm the opinion which he had conceived of Ptolemy, that he would, by no means, venture to take arms against him, but rather try to terminate the dispute by conferences, and with the assistance of his friends prevail upon him to retire again from Cœle-Syria. When the project was thus concerted, and themselves also charged with the management and execution of it, they dispatched an embassy to Antiochus without delay. At the same time, they engaged the Rhodians also, and Byzantines, with the Cyzicenians and Ætolians, to send some deputies to mediate a peace. And, while these different embassies went and returned again between the kings, they had themselves full leisure to complete their preparations for the war. For having fixed their residence in Memphis, they there gave audience to the ambassadors, and received those especially, that came to them from Antiochus, with great marks of favour, but sent, at the same time, secret orders for drawing together to Alexandria all the mercenaries that were employed in any of the provinces abroad. They made new levies also; and provided such supplies of corn and other stores as were sufficient not only for the troops that were then assembled, but for all those likewise who should afterwards arrive to join them. They went down also, from time to time, in turn, to Alexandria; that, by their presence, all things might be obtained, that were in any manner necessary for the war.

The care of providing proper arms, together with the choice and disposition of the troops, was entrusted to Echecrates of Thessaly, Phoxidas a Melitæan, Eurylochus a Magnesian, Socrates of Bœotia, and Cnopias a citizen of

Alorus. For it happened, most fortunately indeed, at this juncture, that these men were present in the country; who, from having served in the wars of Demetrius and Antigonus, had gained some knowledge of real service, and were acquainted with the manner of conducting an army in the field. They began, therefore, to train all the troops anew, according to the rules of military science: distributing into separate bodies the soldiers of a different age or country, and giving to each the most useful kind of arms, in the room of those to which they had been before accustomed. They changed the form of the enrolments in which the troops were registered; and having established new and different orders, more suitable to the present times, they taught, by continual exercise, every separate body, not only to be obedient to command, but also to perform with ease all the steps and motions that belonged to their respective arms. They appointed all general reviews, and spared no pains to encourage the troops with hopes, or to instruct them in their duty. In this task, they received no small assistance from Andromachus of Aspendus, and Polycrates of Argos, who had lately arrived from Greece, and brought with them all the skill and martial ardour, for which the people of that country are so justly celebrated. They were both distinguished likewise by the splendour of their families, and their wealth. Polycrates especially not only derived his birth from a very ancient house, but was illustrious also from the glory which Mnasiadas, his father, had acquired, by his victories in the public games. These men now exerted all their efforts to instruct and animate the troops: and, both by their harangues in public to the army, as well as by their private admonitions, they, by degrees, inspired them with full confidence and courage.

Among the generals, every one was appointed to the charge which seemed most perfectly adapted to his talents and peculiar skill. Eurylochus, the Magnesian, commanded a body of three thousand men, who were called

the royal guard; and Socrates of Bœotia, the peltastæ, in number about two thousand. Phoxidas the Achæan, with Ptolemy the son of Thraseas, and Andromachus of Aspendus, exercised together in a body the phalanx and the Grecian mercenaries. The phalanx, which consisted of twenty-five thousand men, was commanded by Ptolemy and Andromachus: and the mercenaries, who were about eight thousand, by Phoxidas. Seven hundred horse, which belonged also to the royal guard, the cavalry from Afric, and that which had been levied in the country, the whole amounting to about three thousand, were both exercised and commanded likewise by Polycrates. Echecrates also, the Thessalian, to whom the Grecian and all the foreign cavalry, to the number of two thousand, was entrusted, had trained and disciplined them with such perfect skill and judgment, that they performed the greatest service afterwards in the battle. But, among all the rest, there was none that surpassed Cnopias of Alorus, in the management of the troops that were entrusted to his care. These were ten thousand Cretans; among whom were a thousand Neocretans, commanded by Philo, a citizen of Cnossus. There were also among the troops, three thousand Africans, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Ammonius of Barce; and a phalanx likewise of Egyptians, composed of twenty thousand men, and commanded by Sosibius. They had also a body of Gauls and Thracians; among whom four thousand were the established troops that had long been settled in the country; and two thousand of them were lately raised. At the head of these was Dionysius, who was by birth a Thracian. Such were the numbers, and the different nations, of which the army of Ptolemy was now composed.

During this time, Antiochus continued to press the siege of Dura. But his efforts all were fruitless: both because the place was by nature strongly fortified, and the garrison also reinforced, from time to time, by the care of Nicolaus. As the winter, therefore, now approached, he yielded

to the ambassadors of Ptolemy, consented to a truce of four months' continuance, and declared, that he was even ready to put an end to the whole dispute, upon conditions the most just and reasonable. This assurance was, however, very different from his real sentiments. But he was now impatient to return, that his troops might take their winter quarters in Seleucia. For it was now clear, beyond all doubt, that Achæus had formed designs against him, and was joined in close connexion with king Ptolemy. He dismissed, therefore, the ambassadors, with orders, that they should hasten to return again, and meet him at Seleucia, bringing with them the last determination of their master. He then placed garrisons in all the proper posts, and having left the care of the province to Theodotus, began his march back towards Seleucia, and there sent his army into winter quarters. Nor was he, after this time, in the least solicitous to exercise the troops: being persuaded, that the dispute would soon be brought to a decision without having recourse again to arms. For he flattered himself, that as he already had subdued many parts of Cœle-Syria and Phœnice, the rest would be yielded to him in a conference; and that Ptolemy would never dare to risk a general battle. His ambassadors were also fixed in the same opinion; being deceived by the civilities that were shewn towards them by Sosibius. For this minister had detained them with him still at Memphis, and covered from their knowledge all the preparations that were at the same time made at Alexandria. By this artful management, when the ambassadors again returned, he was himself alike prepared either for peace or war.

But Antiochus, as he had already subdued his enemies in the field, resolved, if possible, to shew himself superior also in the conferences. When the ambassadors therefore met him at Seleucia, and began to propose the conditions of the peace agreeably to their instructions from Sosibius, the king declared, that it was absurd to say, that he had offered any injury to Ptolemy, by entering Cœle-Syria

with an army; since he had endeavoured only to recover the possession of a country, which belonged to him by a proper right. He shewed, that Antigonus, who was surnamed Cocles, had first subdued this province: and that Seleucus afterwards obtained possession of it: that his own claim was founded upon these strong titles, too clear to be disputed; and that from thence it must be acknowledged, that the country belonged to him alone, and not to Ptolemy. That it was true, indeed, that Ptolemy had declared war against Antigonus; but that he had no design to join the province to his own dominions, but only to secure the sovereignty of it to Seleucus. Above all the rest, he urged the joint determination of the kings Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus; who, when they had defeated Antigonus in battle, resolved, with one consent, that all Syria should be yielded to Seleucus.

In reply to all these reasons, the ambassadors on the other side insisted with no small earnestness, that the treason of Theodotus, and the invasion of Cœle-Syria by Antiochus, were a gross and notorious insult, and an open violation of the rights of Ptolemy. They said that Ptolemy the son of Lagus had fairly acquired the sovereignty of the province: and that the assistance, which he furnished to Seleucus in the war, was expressly sent upon these conditions; that Seleucus should possess all Asia, but that Cœle-Syria and Phœnice should be left to Ptolemy.

In this manner was the contest long supported, in the course of many deputations and debates, without any prospect of agreement. For as the conferences all were held by the friends alone of either party, there were none that could interpose between them, to moderate and restrain their warmth, whenever they attempted to extend their claims beyond the bounds of justice. The business also of Achæus was found to be a matter even of greater difficulty than the rest. For it was strongly urged by Ptolemy, that he should be included in the treaty. But Antiochus would scarcely suffer it to be proposed; but exclaimed against it

as a most intolerable insult, that Ptolemy should presume to interpose in favour of a traitor, or even so much as name a man, who had rebelled against his natural prince.

While each side thus endeavoured to maintain their ground, the spring at last came on, before the contest was in any point decided. Antiochus, therefore, drew together all his forces, designing to attack Cœle-Syria both by land and sea, and make himself master of the other parts of the province. At the same time Ptolemy, having entrusted the conduct of the war to Nicolaus, sent large supplies of stores to Gaza, and ordered his fleet to advance, together with a land army. When the troops arrived, the general in concert with Perigenes, who commanded the naval forces, and who was ready to comply with all his orders, began with great alacrity to make the necessary disposition for securing the country against the enemy. The fleet was composed of thirty decked vessels, with more than four hundred ships of transport. Nicolaus himself was an Ætolian by birth; and was not inferior, either in courage or experience, to any of the generals of Ptolemy. He sent away a part of his army, to possess themselves of the defiles of Platanus; while himself, encamping with the rest near Porphyreon, resolved, with the assistance of the fleet which was stationed near him, to oppose on that side the entrance of the king.

Antiochus, arriving now at Marathos, and being met there by the people of Aradus, who came to offer to him their assistance in the war, not only received them into his alliance, but quieted also some contentions which had been long maintained between the Aradians of the island, and those that lived upon the continent. He then entered Syria, along the mountain called Theoprosopon, and came to Berytus; having taken Botrys in his march, and set fire to Calamus and Trieres. And when he had sent away Nicarchus and Theodotus, to secure the passes that were near the river Lycus, he from thence continued his march forwards, and encamped upon the banks of the Damura;

being still followed by his fleet, which sailed along the coast as he advanced, under the command of Diognetus. From this place, being now joined again by Theodotus and Nicarchus, with the light-armed troops, he advanced to take a view of those defiles that were possessed by Nicolaus; and having carefully observed the nature of the ground, as well as the strength and situation of the several posts, he then returned back again to his camp.

On the following day, having left behind him all his heavy forces under the care of Nicarchus, he advanced with the rest of the army to attack the enemy in these defiles. The place in which Nicolaus now was posted was a narrow ground which lay between mount Libanus and the sea, and was covered also by an eminence, very rough and steep, and which left the passage along the shore extremely close and difficult. He had placed in every part that was commodious for it a numerous body of troops; and having thrown up also various works, he flattered himself that he should be able, without much difficulty, to prevent the enemy from penetrating through the passes.

Antiochus divided all his forces into three separate bodies, and gave one of them to Theodotus, with orders that he should dislodge the enemy from their posts at the foot of the mountain Libanus; and that the second, which was led by Menedemus, at the same time should employ their utmost efforts to force their passage along the middle of the eminence. The last division was posted close upon the shore under the command of Diocles, the governor of Parapotamia. The king himself, attended by his guards, took his station in the middle; that from thence he might be able to discern all that passed, and to send assistance as occasion should require. At the same time Diognetus and Perigenes made all things ready for the engagement; having drawn their fleets very near to shore, and formed them into such a disposition that they seemed to make one front with their respective armies. The signal now was made, and the battle at once begun both by land and sea.

Upon the sea, because the strength and number of the combatants were nearly equal, the success was also equal. But by land Nicolaus, assisted by his situation, at first gained some advantage in the action. But when Theodotus, having forced the enemy from their posts along the foot of the mountain, fell afterwards with violence upon them from the higher ground, they then fled with great precipitation. About two thousand of them were killed in the pursuit, and an equal number taken prisoners. The rest escaped to Sidon. Perigenes also, though he had hitherto maintained the fight upon the sea with the fairest prospect of success, no sooner saw that the army was completely routed, than he was struck with consternation, and retreated likewise with the fleet towards the same place without any loss.

Antiochus, taking with him all his forces, came and encamped before Sidon. But as the city was completely filled with stores, and the number of the inhabitants who were now also joined by those that had fled from the late engagement very great, he made no attempt to take the place: but continued his march forwards towards Philoteria; and sent orders to Diognetus, that he should sail with the fleet to Tyre. Philoteria lies close upon the borders of that lake, into which the river Jordan enters; and from whence, flowing out again, it passes through those plains in which the city of Scythopolis is situated. The king, having obtained possession of both these places, which were surrendered to him upon conditions, was now filled with the fairest hopes with regard to the final issue of the war. For the country, that was subject to these cities, was such as would afford very large supplies, sufficient for all the army; and furnish them with every kind of necessaries in the greatest plenty. Having left in both a proper garrison, he then passed beyond the mountains, and came to Atabyrium; which was situated upon a hill of a globular form, whose height was more than fifteen stadia. In order to become master of this city he employed the

following stratagem. Having engaged the inhabitants in a skirmish, he directed his own troops to retreat, as if they had fled before them: and when he had thus drawn the enemy to a considerable distance, facing suddenly round again, and at the same time sending orders to some troops that were placed in ambuscade to rise and join in the attack, he killed great numbers of them, and pursuing closely after those that fled, took advantage of their consternation, and entered the city with them without resistance.

About this time, Ceræas, one of the generals of Ptolemy, came and joined Antiochus; who received him with such high marks of honour, that many other commanders also were soon afterwards induced to follow the example. Among these was Hippolochus of Thessaly; who brought likewise with him a body of four hundred horse.

The king, having secured Atabyrium by a garrison, began his march; and as he advanced took Pella, Camus, and Gephrus. After this success all the people who inhabited the neighbouring places of Arabia urged each other to submit, and with one consent embraced his party. Having received, therefore, from them some provisions for his army, he again continued his march forwards, full of joy and confidence, and passing through the district of Gladiatis, made himself master of Abila, taking prisoners also the troops that were drawn together for its defence, under the command of Nicias, who was the kinsman and friend of Meneas. Gadara, which was esteemed to be the strongest of all the cities that were in that part of the country, still remained to be subdued. But no sooner had the king encamped before it, and begun to advance his works, than the inhabitants were struck with terror, and surrendered. Being now informed, that the enemy had assembled in great numbers at Rabatamana, a city of Arabia, and from thence made incursions upon the lands of those Arabians who had submitted to him, he immediately began his march in haste, and came and encamped

near the hills, upon which the city was built. And when he had surveyed it round on every side, and remarked that there were two places only by which it was possible to approach it, he there planted his machines, and made the necessary disposition for the attack. The batteries on one side were commanded by Nicarchus, and on the other by Theodotus; while the king attended alike to both with equal vigilance, and observed the zealous emulation of the generals. As the attack was made by both with the greatest vigour, and each contended to be the first in battering down the part against which his own machines were pointed, on a sudden, when it scarcely was expected, the wall on both sides fell. After this success they renewed their assaults against the place continually, with the utmost force and fury, both by night and day. As the numbers however of those that were within the city were very great, their efforts all were ineffectual. But after some time, being informed by one of the prisoners that were taken, of a certain subterraneous passage, from which the besieged were supplied with water, they filled the mouth of it with wood and stones and other such materials: and thus in a short time forced the inhabitants through want of water to surrender. The king left Nicarchus in the place with a sufficient garrison: and sent away Hippolochus and Cerræas, with a body of five thousand infantry towards Samaria; to cover the frontiers of the country from all insult, and to protect the people who had submitted to him. He then began his march to Ptolemais with all the army, designing to pass the winter in that city.

CHAP. VII.

IN the course of the same summer, the Pednelissians being besieged by the Selgians, and reduced to great extremity, solicited some assistance from Achæus: and having obtained a favourable answer, they sustained the siege with constancy, in the hope that in a short time they

should be relieved. Achæus sent accordingly to their assistance Garsyeris, with six thousand infantry and five hundred horse. The Selgians, being informed of his approach, posted the greatest part of their troops in the defile called Climax; secured the approaches to Saporda; and broke up all the roads. Garsyeris continuing still to advance, entered Milyas and encamped near Cretopolis. But when he found that the enemy had possessed themselves of all the passes, and stopped his farther progress, he employed the following stratagem. Having ordered his army to decamp, he directed his route back again, as if he had lost all hope of being able to succour the besieged. The Selgians, not suspecting any fraud, left their posts and retired, some of them to their camp and some into the city: for it was now the time of harvest. But Garsyeris, returning in a short time afterwards by quick and continued marches, seized the passes, which were left without defence; and having secured them all by sufficient guards, under the command of Phaylus, he advanced with the rest of his troops to Perga: and from thence sent deputations to all the people of Pisidia and Pamphylia, exhorting them to secure themselves in time against the growing power of the Selgians, to enter into an alliance with Achæus, and to join their forces with him to assist the Pednelissians. In the mean while the Selgians, being persuaded that, by their knowledge of the country, they should soon be able to strike a terror into Phaylus, sent away a body of troops to dislodge him from his posts. But so far were they from being able to accomplish their design, that, on the contrary, they lost many of their men. They desisted, therefore, from this attempt, and returning again to the business of the siege, began to press the city more closely than before.

About this time, the Etenneans, who inhabited the mountainous parts of Pisidia beyond Sida, joined Garsyeris with eight thousand heavy-armed troops; and the people of Aspendus with four thousand. But, those of

Sida refused to take any part in this confederacy: partly, because they were disposed to favour the interests of Antiochus; but, chiefly, because they hated the Aspendians. Garsyeris, having increased his army by these new forces, advanced towards Pednelissus; being persuaded that the Selgians, upon his first approach, would raise the siege. But, as he was wholly disappointed in this hope, he encamped at a moderate distance from them; and, being desirous to relieve the Pednelissians, who were now much pressed by famine, he ordered two thousand men, carrying each a measure of corn, to enter the city in the night: but the Selgians, informed of their approach, fell upon them in their march, killed the greatest part of the detachment, and carried away the corn. After this success, they resolved not only still to press the siege of the city as before, but even to invest Garsyeris also in his camp. For, in the affairs of war, the Selgians are always very bold and enterprising, even to rashness.

Leaving, therefore, behind them the forces only that were necessary to guard their own intrenchments, they advanced with the rest of their army, and fell with fury upon the camp of the enemy, in many parts at once. Garsyeris, being thus suddenly beset with danger upon every side, and perceiving that in many places his intrenchments were already forced, sent away all his cavalry, through a certain passage that was left open by the enemy. The Selgians, imagining that they had retreated from the camp through fear, and were hastening to escape by flight, made no attempt to intercept or stop them. But these troops having taken a circuit round, fell suddenly upon the enemy in their rear, with great force and fury. The infantry also, though they were almost forced from the intrenchments, resumed again their courage, and returned boldly to the charge. The Selgians, being thus pressed on every side, were at last constrained to fly. At the same time, the Pednelissians from the city attacked the troops that were left to guard the intrenchments, and drove them

from their camp. As they all fled different ways, not fewer than ten thousand of them were destroyed in the pursuit. Among those that were able to escape, the allies retired to their respective cities; and the Selgians, directing their flight across the mountains, returned back again to their own country.

Garsyeris immediately decamped, and pursued with the greatest haste; designing to pass through the defiles, and to appear in sight of Selga, before the inhabitants should be recovered from their consternation, or find time to take the measures that were necessary for their defence. He came accordingly, with all his army, and encamped near the city. The Selgians, disheartened by their late defeat, and not expecting any farther succours from their allies, who had also been involved in the same misfortune, began to apprehend, that both their country and themselves were now lost without resource. Having called together, therefore, an assembly, they resolved to depute to Garsyeris one of their citizens, whose name was Logbasis. This man had been the guest and intimate friend of that Antiochus who died in Thrace: and, having been entrusted by him at his death with the charge of Laodice, who was afterwards married to Achæus, he had educated her as his own proper daughter, with a true parental tenderness and care. The Selgians therefore were persuaded, that no one was more fit to be employed at this conjuncture. But Logbasis, when he had entered into private conference with Garsyeris, so far forgot his duty to his country, that instead of performing the service that was expected from him, he, on the contrary, pressed this general to send and call Achæus without delay, and promised to betray the city to them. Garsyeris received this offer with the greatest joy, and immediately dispatched some messengers to inform Achæus of the accident. And having consented to a truce with the Selgians, he found means to delay, from time to time, the conclusion of the treaty, inventing still new doubts and difficulties, with design to afford full leisure for Achæus to

arrive, and that Logbasis might be able also to prepare, in concert with himself, the measures that were necessary for the execution of the project.

During this time, as frequent deputations went and returned on either side, it grew at last to be the common practice of the soldiers to go from the camp into the city to procure provisions; an indulgence which, in various instances, had proved the cause of utter ruin and destruction. For my own part, indeed, I am inclined to believe that man, who is esteemed more dexterous and artful than any other animal, is in truth of all most open to surprise and fraud. How many camps and garrisons, how many of the strongest cities, have fallen a prey to this very kind of treachery? Yet though the examples are thus frequent and notorious, we still, I know not how, are novices with respect to all such enterprises, through the want of paying a due attention to those misfortunes in which others, from their negligence, have been involved. We employ great pains and cost to draw together money and stores, to fortify our towns with walls, and to fill our magazines with arms, in order to secure ourselves against all sudden accidents; but totally neglect those means of safety which may be acquired with far greater ease, and which afford a sure resource in every dangerous conjuncture; I mean that knowledge of all past transactions which is supplied by history, and which always may be gained, with not less pleasure than advantage, even in the shade of a safe and honourable repose.

Achæus arrived at the expected time; and the Selgians, after they had been admitted to a conference with him, flattered themselves with the hope that they should be able to obtain the most favourable terms of peace. Logbasis, who from time to time had drawn together in small numbers to his house the soldiers that came into the city from the camp, now pressed the citizens to assemble all the people, to take advantage of the favourable disposition of Achæus, and to bring the treaty to its last conclusion.

The Selgians met together, therefore, in a general assembly; and, as if they had been secure of bringing the affair to a speedy issue, permitted even the guards to retire from their several posts. At this time Logbasis, having given the signal to the enemy, ordered the soldiers that were with him to stand ready for the engagement, and armed himself also and his sons. Achæus, taking with him one half of his forces, approached near the city; while Garsyeris with the rest directed his march towards a temple of Jupiter called Cesbedium, which stood as a kind of citadel, and commanded all the city. But a certain shepherd, having perceived by accident what was done, informed the assembly of it. The soldiers ran in haste, one part towards Cesbedium and the rest to the other posts; and the people, inflamed with rage, to the house of Logbasis. And finding there a clear discovery of the treason, some of them climbed up to the roof, while others forced their entrance through the doors, and killed Logbasis and his sons, and all the rest that were with him in the house. They then proclaimed liberty to the slaves, and having divided themselves into several bodies, took possession of all the advantageous posts. When Garsyeris saw that Cesbedium was already secured against him, he desisted at once from his design. Achæus, on the contrary, endeavoured to force his entrance through the gates. But the Selgians advanced against him, killed seven hundred of his men, and at last constrained him to retire again with Garsyeris towards his camp. But after this success, being apprehensive that some disorders might happen in the city, and dreading also the dangers of a siege, they deputed some of their oldest citizens, in the habits of submission, to Achæus; who consented to a treaty with them upon these conditions: "That they should immediately pay four hundred talents, and, after a certain time, three hundred more; and restore all their prisoners to the Pednelissians." Thus the Selgians by their bravery saved their country from the ruin which the impious treachery

of Logbasis had almost brought upon it; and displayed such courage as indeed was worthy of a free and generous people, descended from the stock of Sparta. Achæus, having reduced Milyas, with the greater part also of Pamphylia, continued his march to Sardes; and from thence made perpetual incursions into the territories of Attalus; threatened Prusias with a war; and became very formidable to all the states that were on this side of mount Taurus.

During the time in which Achæus was employed in the siege of Selga, Attalus, taking with him a body of the Gauls called tectosages, advanced through the country to recover again the towns of Æolis, with the rest of the cities also that were near, which through terror had submitted to Achæus. The greater part of these immediately surrendered, and were even pleased to be received under his protection. A small number only were reduced by force. Among the first were Cyme, Smyrna, and Phocæa. Temnus also and Ægea were struck with terror at his approach, and readily submitted. The Teians and the Colophonians sent some deputies to meet him, and surrendered their cities at discretion. He granted to them the same conditions as before, and took some hostages of their fidelity. But among all the rest the ambassadors from Smyrna were received with the greatest marks of favour; because the people of that city had persisted always in a close attachment to his interests. From hence, continuing his march forwards, and passing the river Lycus, he traversed Mysia, struck with terror the garrisons of Didyma and Carsa, and gained possession of both those fortresses, which were surrendered to him by Themistocles, whom Achæus had entrusted with the government of that part of the country. Having then wasted all the plain of Apia, he passed the mountain Pelecas, and came and encamped near the river Megistus. During his stay in this place there happened to be an eclipse of the moon. The Gauls, who had long supported with the greatest pain the diffi-

culty of a march, in which their wives and children followed them in chariots, regarded this event as an evil portent, and refused to advance any farther. Attalus, though he now no longer wanted the assistance of these troops, and had experienced likewise, that in all their marches they were still separated from the other forces, that they also encamped apart, and were at all times haughty and untractable, was thrown, however, by this accident into great perplexity. For as he dreaded, on the one hand, that they would now join Achæus, and fall, together with that prince, upon some part of his dominions; so, on the other hand, he was no less apprehensive that he should draw upon himself the censure of mankind, in case that he should surround them with the rest of his army, and thus destroy a body of men who had trusted themselves to his protection, and under that security had followed him into Asia. At last, therefore, he resolved to seize the occasion of their present discontent, and promised that he would lead them to a place from whence they might again pass into Europe; that he would allot a country also to them, sufficient for their settlement; and, for the time to come, be always ready to advance their interests, and comply with every just demand. He conducted them accordingly to the Hellespont; and having shewn great marks of favour to the inhabitants of Ilium, Lampsacus, and Alexandria, who had all remained firm in their attachment to him, he then returned to Pergamus with his army.

CHAP. VIII.

WHEN the spring approached, Antiochus and Ptolemy, having completed all their preparations, were now ready by a battle to decide the war. Ptolemy, therefore, began his march from Alexandria with seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants. Antiochus, being informed of his approach, drew together also

all his forces. His army was composed of five thousand light-armed troops, Daians, Carmanians, and Cilicians, under the command of Byttacus, a Macedonian; and twenty thousand men, selected from all parts of the kingdom, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Theodotus the Ætolian, who had deserted from the service of king Ptolemy. The greater part of these wore silver bucklers. There was a phalanx also of twenty thousand men, commanded by Nicarchus and Theodotus the Hermionian: two thousand Agrianians and Persians, armed with bows and slings, and with them a thousand Thracians, under the care of Menedemus, a citizen of Alabanda; five thousand Medes, Cissians, Caddusians, and Carmanians, who received their orders from Aspasianes, a Mede; ten thousand men from Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, conducted by Zabdiphilus; five thousand Grecian mercenaries, commanded by Hippolochus of Thessaly; fifteen hundred Cretans, by Eurylochus; and a thousand Neocretans, by Zeles of Gortyna; a thousand Cardacians, and five hundred Lydian archers, under the conduct of Lysimachus, a Gaul. The number of the cavalry was about six thousand. Four thousand of them were commanded by Antipater, the brother of the king; and the rest by Themison. Thus the whole army of Antiochus consisted of seventy-two thousand foot, and six thousand horse; with a hundred and two elephants.

Ptolemy, advancing to Pelusium, and having waited there to receive the troops that were not yet come up, and to distribute provisions among his army, again decamped, and passing through a dry and desert country, along mount Casius, and the place that was called the Pits, arrived at Gaza. And having allowed some time for the refreshment of his army, he continued his route forwards by slow and gentle marches, and on the fifth day fixed his camp at the distance of fifty stadia from the city of Raphia; which is situated beyond Rhinocorura, and

stands the nearest towards Egypt of all the cities of Cœle-Syria.

At the same time Antiochus also began his march, and passing beyond Raphia, came and encamped, in the night, at the distance of ten stadia from the enemy. But within some days afterwards, being desirous to possess himself of some more advantageous posts, and at the same time to inspire his troops with confidence, he advanced so near to Ptolemy, that the armies were now separated from each other by the distance only of five stadia. Frequent engagements, therefore, happened every day between the troops that went abroad to get water or provisions; and many skirmishes, both of the infantry and cavalry, in the space that was between the camps.

During this time Theodotus formed an attempt that was worthy indeed of an Ætolian, but which shewed no small degree of courage and enterprising boldness. From his long acquaintance with the court of Ptolemy he knew all the customs of the king, and the manner in which he lived. Attended, therefore, by no more than two companions, he went over to the camp of the enemy, a little before break of day. As the darkness screened his face from all discovery, so his habit likewise passed unobserved, because there were various kinds of dresses in the camp. He advanced boldly, therefore, to the royal tent, which in the late skirmishes he had easily remarked, and entered it unnoticed by the guards. But he found not the person whom he sought. For this, indeed, was the tent of state, in which the king usually supped, and admitted his friends to audience; but he slept in a different tent. Theodotus, therefore, when he had searched in vain in every corner, wounded two officers that were sleeping there, and killed Andreas, the physician of the king, and then returned again with safety; having received some slight disturbance only as he left the camp. And thus, as far as courage only was required, he fully accomplished his design. But

he failed through want of prudence, in not having examined with the necessary care in what part of the camp the king was used to sleep.

The two kings, when they had thus for five days remained in sight, resolved at last to engage in a decisive action. As soon, therefore, as Ptolemy began first to put his troops in motion, Antiochus also drew out all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle. The phalanxes on either side, with the rest of the troops likewise that were armed after the Macedonian manner, stood opposite to each other in the centre. The wings, on the part of Ptolemy, were thus disposed. Upon the left stood Polycretes with the cavalry that was under his command. Between him and the phalanx were first the Cretan forces; after these the royal guards; then the peltastæ, led by Socrates; and in the last place, close joining to the phalanx, the Africans, armed after the manner of the Macedonians. Upon the right wing stood Echecrates with his cavalry. Close to him upon his left were placed first the Gauls and Thracians; next to these the Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phoxidas; and after them, the phalanx of Egyptians. Forty of the elephants were posted on the left wing, in which Ptolemy himself designed to engage; and thirty-three upon the right, at some distance before the mercenary cavalry.

Antiochus placed sixty of his elephants, under the command of Philip, who was his foster-brother, before the right wing, which he designed to lead himself to the charge against Ptolemy. Behind the elephants were two thousand horse, commanded by Antipater, and close to these two thousand more, which were ranged in the figure called the forceps. Joining to the cavalry in front stood first the Cretans, then the Grecian mercenaries, and between these and the troops that were armed after the Macedonian manner, the five thousand men that were under the command of Byttacus, a Macedonian. On the left wing stood Themison, with two thousand cavalry.

Next to these were the Lydian and Cardacian archers; then the light-armed troops of Menedemus, which amounted to about three thousand; afterwards the Cissians, Medes, and Carmanians; and lastly, joining to the phalanx, the forces of Arabia, and the neighbouring countries. The remaining part of the elephants were posted also before this wing, under the command of Myiscus, one of the young men that had been educated with the king.

When the armies were thus ranged in order, and ready to engage, the two kings, attended by their officers and friends, advanced along the front of all the line, and endeavoured to inspire their troops with courage; especially the phalanxes, in which they had placed their greatest hopes. Upon this occasion Ptolemy was accompanied by his sister Arsinoë, and by Sosibius also and Andromachus; Antiochus, by Theodotus and Nicarchus; for these, on both sides, were the generals by whom the phalanxes were commanded. The motives that were urged to animate the troops were on either side the same. For as these princes had both been seated so lately upon the throne, and had themselves performed no actions that were worthy to be mentioned, they were forced to have recourse alike to the fame and great exploits of their respective ancestors. But above all the rest, they promised also, on their own part, great rewards, as well to every officer apart, as in general to all the army; and, in a word, employed not exhortations only, but prayers also, and entreaties, to engage them to perform their duty with alacrity and vigour.

In this manner, riding along from rank to rank they addressed all the troops in turn, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes by interpreters. But when Ptolemy, with his sister, came to the left wing of his army, and Antiochus, attended by his guards, had taken his station also upon his right, the signal was sounded to engage, and the elephants, approaching first, began the combat. Among those that belonged to Ptolemy, there were some that

advanced boldly against their adversaries. It was then pleasing to behold the soldiers engaged in close combat from the towers, and pushing against each other with their spears. But the beasts themselves afforded a far nobler spectacle as they rushed together, front to front, with the greatest force and fury. For this is the manner in which they fight. Twisting their trunks together, they strive each of them, with his utmost force, to maintain their own ground, and to move their adversary from his place. And when the strongest of them has at last pushed aside the trunk of the other, and forced him to turn his flank, he then pierces him with his tusks, in the same manner as bulls in fighting wound each other with their horns. But the greater part of the beasts that belonged to Ptolemy declined the combat. For this usually happens to the elephants of Afric; which are not able to support either the smell or cry of the Indian elephants. Or rather, perhaps, they are struck with terror at the view of their enormous size and strength; since even before they approach near together they frequently turn their backs and fly. And this it was which at this time happened. As soon, therefore, as these animals, being thus disordered by their fears, had fallen against the ranks of their own army, and forced the royal guards to break the line, Antiochus, seizing the occasion, and advancing round on the outside of the elephants, charged the cavalry which was commanded by Polycrates, in the extremity of the left wing of Ptolemy. At the same time also the Grecian mercenaries, who stood within the elephants, near the phalanx, advanced with fury against the peltastæ, and routed them with little difficulty, because their ranks likewise were already broken by the elephants. Thus the whole left wing of the army of Ptolemy was defeated, and forced to fly.

Echecrates, who commanded in the right, for some time waited to observe what would be the event of the engagement upon the left. But when he saw that the dust was

driven fast towards them, and that their elephants fled wholly from the combat, he ordered Phoxidas, who commanded the mercenaries of Greece, to advance against the troops that stood opposite to him in front; while himself, having directed his own cavalry, together with those that were drawn up behind the elephants, to defile along the wing, till they had stretched beyond the elephants of the left wing of Antiochus, charged the cavalry of that wing both in flank and rear, and soon caused a general rout. Phoxidas also, with the troops that were under his command, at the same time forced the Arabians and the Medes to fly in great disorder. Thus Antiochus, who had gained the victory upon his right, was completely vanquished on his left. The phalanxes alone, being thus stripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain, and knew not what they should expect or fear.

While Antiochus was pursuing his victory upon the right, Ptolemy, who had retreated behind his phalanx, advanced now into the centre, and shewing himself to both armies, struck the enemy with terror, and inspired his own forces with alacrity and confidence. Andromachus therefore, and Sosibius, levelling their spears, advanced without delay against the enemy. The troops of Syria, who were all select men, for some time sustained the charge. But those that were commanded by Nicarchus immediately turned their backs and fled. During this time Antiochus, young and unskilled in war, and judging, from the victory which himself had gained, that the same good fortune had attended also in every other part of the action, still pursued with eagerness the troops that had fled before him. But after some time, when one of the older generals had desired him to remark the dust that was driven towards his camp by the phalanx of the enemy, he then saw what had happened, and ran back in haste, attended by his guards, towards the place of battle. But as the troops were now completely routed, he was forced to retreat to Raphia; being persuaded that, as far as the success had depended

on himself, he had gained a perfect victory; and that the battle had been only lost through the want of spirit and base cowardice of his troops. Ptolemy, having thus obtained by his phalanx a complete and decisive victory, and killed also, by his cavalry and mercenaries of the right wing, great numbers in the pursuit, returned back again to his camp; and on the following day, when he had first interred his soldiers that were slain, and spoiled the bodies of the enemy, he directed his march towards Raphia: Antiochus had at first designed to draw together all his troops, and to encamp without the walls of Raphia; but as the greater part had fled for safety into the city, he was forced also himself to enter it. But early on the following day he directed his route towards Gaza with the remains of his army, and there encamped; and from thence sent to obtain permission of Ptolemy to bury his men also that were slain. He had lost in the action scarcely fewer than ten thousand of his infantry, with more than three hundred horse. Above four thousand also were taken prisoners. Three of his elephants were killed in the engagement, and two died afterwards of their wounds. On the part of Ptolemy were slain fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. But seventeen of the elephants were killed, and a greater number taken. Such was the end of the battle of Raphia between these two princes for the sovereignty of Cœle-Syria.

When Antiochus had discharged the last duties to his soldiers who had fallen in the action, he directed his route back again towards his own kingdom. At the same time Ptolemy took possession of Raphia without resistance, with the rest also of the neighbouring cities; which all seemed to strive together which should be the first to return again to his dominion, and receive him as their master. For in such conjunctures all men indeed are ready to accommodate their resolutions to the present times. But the people especially of Cœle-Syria are more strongly led by nature to this compliance, than those of any other country. At

this time, however, their conduct must in part be ascribed to that affection by which they were before inclined towards the kings of Egypt. For the multitude, through all the province, had always been accustomed to regard the princes of this family with sentiments of high respect and veneration. Ptolemy, therefore, was received among them with crowns, sacrifices, altars, and every other honour which flattery was able to invent.

As soon as Antiochus arrived in safety at the city which was called by his own name, he sent Antipater his nephew, and Theodotus, ambassadors to Ptolemy, to treat of peace. For he feared that if the enemy should now pursue their victory, his own subjects, disheartened by the late defeat, might perhaps revolt; and that Achæus would be ready also to take advantage of the occasion which was so favourable for his design against him. Ptolemy never once reflected upon any of these circumstances; but, satisfied with having thus gained a victory, which he scarcely had the courage to expect, and finding himself again possessed of Cœle-Syria, was so far from being averse to peace, that, on the contrary, he embraced it with immoderate haste; and fled again to that repose to which his indolence and habitual vices forcibly inclined him. As soon therefore as the ambassadors arrived, having first given vent to some slight expostulations and complaints, with respect to the attempt that had been formed against him by Antiochus, he immediately consented to a truce for a year, and sent away Sosibius to ratify the treaty. And when he had passed three months in Syria and Phœnice, and restored peace and order among all the cities, he left the government of the country to Andromachus of Aspendus, and returned back again with his sister, and his favourites, to Alexandria; having finished the war in a manner which occasioned no small surprise among the people of his kingdom, who were acquainted with his former course of life. Antiochus, as soon as the treaty was concluded by Sosibius, resumed his first design, and began to make the

necessary preparations for his war against Achæus. Such was the state of affairs in Asia.

CHAP. IX.

ABOUT this time an earthquake happened at Rhodes, which threw down their vast colossus, together with a great part of the walls and naval arsenals. But the Rhodians, by their wise and dexterous management, so well improved the accident, that instead of being destructive to them, it brought many great advantages to their city. So different are the effects of prudence and activity from those of negligence and folly, as well in public affairs as in the business also of private life. For through the latter of these qualities even happy events become pernicious; while the former, on the contrary, convert calamities into benefits. Thus the Rhodians, exaggerating all the horrors of the accident that had befallen them, and preserving still a grave and solemn dignity, both in the addresses that were made in public by their ambassadors, and in their own particular deportment, induced the cities, and especially the kings, not only to send gifts of very great value, but even to esteem it a favour that their presents were accepted by them. From Hiero and Gelo they received seventy-five talents of silver, one part of which was paid immediately, and the rest in a short time afterwards, to furnish oil for the games of the Gymnasium; some silver caldrons with their bases; some cisterns for holding water; ten talents to defray the expence of sacrifices; and ten more to increase the number of the citizens: so that the whole amounted to near a hundred talents. The same princes exempted also from all imposts the vessels that sailed from Rhodes; and gave to them likewise fifty catapults, of the length of three cubits. And yet after all this bounty, as if they had themselves received some favours from the Rhodians, they erected in the public place of their

city a statue of the people of Rhodes in the act of receiving a crown from another statue, which represented the people of Syracuse. Ptolemy also engaged to furnish them with three hundred talents of silver; a million measures of corn; with timber to build ten quinqueremes and ten triremes; some square pieces also of fir, the measure of which together was forty thousand cubits; a thousand talents of brass coin; three thousand weight of hemp; three thousand pieces of cloth for sails; three thousand talents for replacing their colossus: a hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty labourers; with fourteen talents by the year for their subsistence; twelve thousand measures of corn for their games and sacrifices; and twenty thousand for the subsistence of the ten triremes. The chief part of these presents was immediately sent to Rhodes; together with a third part also of all the money. In the same manner likewise, Antigonus supplied them with ten thousand pieces of timber, that was proper to be cut into solid blocks, from eight to sixteen cubits; five thousand planks, of seven cubits; three thousand weight of iron; a thousand also of pitch with a thousand measures of tar; and promised to add besides a hundred talents. His wife Chryseis sent, on her part, a hundred thousand measures of corn, and three thousand weight of lead. Seleucus also, the father of Antiochus, not content with having discharged from imposts the Rhodian vessels that sailed to any part of his dominions, gave them also ten quinqueremes completely equipped; two hundred thousand measures of corn; ten thousand cubits of timber, and a thousand weight of hair and resin. The same generosity was also shewn towards them by Prusias, Mithridates, and all the other princes who then reigned in Asia: Lysanas, Olympicus, and Limnæus. And with regard to the cities, which assisted them as far as their abilities would reach, they are scarcely to be numbered. If we look back therefore only to the time in which the Rhodians were first established in their city, we may think it perhaps a matter of surprise, that, in the

course of so short a period they should have gained so considerable an increase, with respect both to the private riches of the citizens, and the public wealth also of the state. But on the other hand, if we reflect upon the great advantages which they derive from the happy situation of their city, together with those plentiful supplies that have flowed into it from abroad, we shall then find no cause of wonder; but rather be persuaded that the condition of this people might have been even still more full and flourishing.

In recounting thus minutely all the circumstances that attended this event, my design was first to shew the uncommon zeal and earnestness with which the Rhodians struggled to restore their country to its former state; a zeal, which indeed is highly worthy both of praise and imitation; and in the next place, that it might from hence be seen how sparingly the princes of the present age dispense their bounty, and of how little value are the gifts which the states and cities now receive. For from these examples those princes may be taught not to boast of their munificence, when they have bestowed perhaps a present of four or five talents only; nor expect that the Greeks should offer to them in return the same acknowledgments and honours as were decreed to the kings of former times. The cities also, on the other hand, when they have seen the immense value of the gifts that were once bestowed upon them may become more reserved and prudent, and not prostitute their best and noblest honours in return for benefits of little worth, but endeavour rather to make so just a distribution of their favours as may preserve their own dignity undiminished, and convince mankind that the Greeks are still superior to all other people. We now return again to the place in which we broke off our relation of the Social war.

When the summer now was come, in which Agetas was the prætor of the Ætolians, and Aratus of the Achæans, Lycurgus, king of Sparta, was recalled again by the ephori,

who had discovered, that the suspicions through which he had been forced to fly were false. He returned, therefore, to the city from Ætolia, and immediately concerted measures with Pyrrhias an Ætolian, who was then the general of the Elean forces, for making an incursion into the Messenian territory. Aratus, at his first entrance upon his office, had found that all the mercenary troops of the republic were broken and dispersed; and that the cities no longer paid their contributions to the war; for such were the effects, as we have before observed, of the unactive and unskilful conduct of Eperatus, the former prætor. Having called together therefore the Achæan states, and obtained, by his persuasions, such a decree as the circumstances of affairs required, he applied himself with vigour to remedy the past disorders, and complete all the necessary preparations for the war. By this decree it was resolved, that the Achæans should receive into their pay a body of new mercenaries, consisting of eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; that they should raise also in Achaia three thousand foot and three hundred horse; that among these, there should be five hundred foot of Megalopolis, armed with brazen bucklers, and fifty horse; with an equal number of Argians; and, that three vessels also should sail towards Acte and the gulf of Argos, and three be sent over to cover Patræ, and Dyme, with the rest of the places that stood along that coast.

While Aratus was thus employed, Pyrrhias and Lycurgus, having agreed together that they should both, at the same time, begin their march, advanced towards the borders of Messenia. Aratus, being informed of their design, took with him the mercenaries, and a part also of the Achæan forces, and came to Megalopolis, to succour the Messenians. Lycurgus, having gained by some secret practices a fortress of the Messenians called Thalamæ, continued his route from thence with the greatest haste, in order to join the Eleans. But Pyrrhias, on the other hand, who had begun his march from Elis with a very

small body of troops, was opposed upon the borders of Messenia by the Cyparissians, and forced to return. Lycurgus, therefore, being thus prevented from joining the Eleans, as he had at first designed, and not able, with his own forces, to attempt any action of importance, made some slight incursions only upon the neighbouring country, for the sake of gaining the supplies that were necessary for his troops, and then led his army back again to Sparta. When the enemy had thus failed in their design, Aratus, in order to defeat all such attempts for the time to come, prevailed on Taurion, and the people of Messenia, to draw together severally five hundred foot and fifty horse, for the defence of the Messenians, Megalopolitans, Argians, and Tegeans, whose lands, lying close upon the borders of Laconia, were chiefly exposed to insult; while himself, with the Achæans and the mercenaries, engaged to cover those parts of Achaia that were situated on the side of Ætolia and Elea. He afterwards employed all his pains, to calm the contests of the Megalopolitans, and to restore peace among them, as the Achæans had directed in their late decree. For this people, whose state and city not long before had been subverted by Cleomenes, were wholly destitute of many things, and scantily supplied with all. They retained, indeed, the same high spirit as before; but were utterly unable to discharge or satisfy, either their own particular wants, or the public necessities of the state. Hence arose contention, jealousy, and hot debates: for such are the effects which naturally spring, as well in public states as among private men, whenever they are pressed by penury, and deprived of the resources that are necessary for carrying into execution their designs. Their first dispute related to the manner in which the city should be built. For some maintained, that it was necessary to contract the former circuit of the walls, that thus they might be able to finish what they should begin, and to defend the city also against an enemy. For it was judged to have been the only cause of their late misfortune, that their city

was of very great extent, and the inhabitants in proportion few. They contended likewise, that those who were rich among the citizens, should give up a third part of their lands, in order to obtain some new inhabitants. Others, on the contrary, refused with equal warmth, either to relinquish their possessions, or consent that the circuit of the city should be lessened. But the chief and most important subject of their contests was a new body of laws, framed for their use by Prytanis, a peripatetic of distinguished eminence, who was sent to them for that purpose by Antigonus. Aratus employed all the methods that seemed likely to be most effectual for calming these disorders, and at last accomplished his design. Their dissensions were all composed: and the conditions of the agreement engraved upon a column, which was erected near the altar of Vesta at Omarium. He then went from Megalopolis, to be present in the council of the Achæan states: having left the mercenaries to the care of Lycus, a citizen of Pharæ; who, on account of the contributions which his city had advanced for the uses of the war, stood the next in authority and command, after the Achæan prætor.

The Eleans, dissatisfied with Pyrrhias, invited Euripidas, who was also an Ætolian, to be their general. Euripidas, having waited till the Achæans were assembled together to hold their general council, began his march at the head of two thousand foot and sixty horse, and passing through the Pharæan district wasted all the country as far as to the borders of the Ægian territory; and when he had gained an immense booty, he retired towards Leontium. But Lycus, being informed of what had happened, marched away with diligence; and falling suddenly upon the enemy in their retreat, he killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred prisoners; among whom were some officers of eminence, Physsias, Antanor, Clearchus, Androlochus, Evanoridas, Aristogiton, Nicasippus, Aspasius. He became master also of their arms, and all their baggage. About the same time the commander of

the Achæan fleet steered his course to Molycria, and returned again with near a hundred slaves. From thence, sailing towards Chalcia, and being there attacked by some vessels of the enemy, he took two long barks with all their men. He took also a small frigate, completely equipped, near Rhium, in Ætolia. This success, which happened at the same time upon land and sea, spread so great a plenty, both of money and provisions, through the Achæan army, that the troops were now fully assured that their stipends would be regularly paid, and the cities also began to hope, that they no longer should be loaded with contributions for the war.

About the time of these transactions, Scerdilaidas, being incensed against king Philip, because some part of the sum, which this prince had engaged to pay to him, remained undischarged, sent away a fleet of fifteen ships, designing to recover, by surprise and fraud, the money that was due. These vessels first steered their course to Leucas; and being received into the port as friends in consequence of the late alliance, they committed indeed, through want and opportunity, no other hostilities in the place; but when Agathynus and Cassander, citizens of Corinth, came and cast anchor, as friends also, in the harbour, with four ships which belonged to Taurion, they immediately attacked them in direct breach of the alliance, and having taken both the captains and their vessels, sent them away to Scerdilaidas. After this exploit, they directed their course to Malea, pillaged many vessels in their way, and carried the merchants into slavery.

As the season of the harvest now approached, and Taurion had neglected to secure by a sufficient force the frontiers of those cities, which have before been mentioned, Aratus drew together a select body of troops, to cover and support the Argians, who were employed in gathering in their corn. About the same time also, Euripidas began his march at the head of the Eleans, with design to ravage the lands of the Tritæans. But when Lycus and Demo-

docus, who commanded the Achæan cavalry, were informed that these troops had quitted their own province, they assembled all the forces of the Patræans, Dymæans, and Pharæans, together with the mercenaries, and resolved to make incursions into the Elean territory. Advancing, therefore, as far as to the town called Phyxium, they sent away the cavalry and light-armed forces to waste the country, having, at the same time, concealed their heavy-armed troops in ambuscade, in the neighbourhood of the town. The Eleans ran together from every part to attack the pillagers; and, as these retired before them, they began also to pursue with eagerness. But Lycus, with the troops that were placed in ambuscade, suddenly arose and charged the foremost of them. The Eleans, upon the first appearance of these heavy-armed forces, immediately turned their backs and fled. About two hundred of them were killed in the place, and eighty taken prisoners; while the Achæans retreated with their booty, without any loss. About this time, the commander also of the Achæan fleet made frequent descents upon Ætolia, in the neighbourhood of Calydon and Naupactus; plundered all the coast, and twice defeated the troops that were sent against him. He took prisoner also Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus. But, because he had formerly been connected with the Achæans by the ties of hospitality, instead of being sold, together with the rest, he was dismissed, within a short time afterwards, without any ransom. About the same time also, Agetas the Ætolian prætor, having assembled all the forces of the country, ravaged the whole provinces of Acarnania and Epirus; and when he had accomplished all that he had designed, he returned back again, and dismissed the Ætolians to their several cities. The Acarnanians, on the other hand, made an incursion into the neighbourhood of Stratus. But, because their troops were on a sudden seized with a panic terror, they were forced to return back again with some disgrace, though not with any loss. For the inhabitants of Stratus, being apprehensive that their

intention was to draw them into an ambuscade, feared to follow them in their retreat.

About this time, a piece of feigned treachery was practised in Phanoteus, in the following manner: Alexander, who was entrusted by king Philip with the government of Phocis, formed the design of surprising the Ætolians, and employed for that purpose Jason, who commanded under him in Phanoteus. This officer, having sent some messengers to Agetas the Ætolian prætor, engaged to surrender to him the citadel of the city. The agreement soon was settled, and confirmed also by the accustomed oaths. On the appointed day, Agetas advanced with his army in the night into the neighbourhood of Phanoteus: and having selected a hundred of the bravest of his troops, he sent them away to take possession of the citadel, and concealed the rest at some distance without the walls. In the mean while, Alexander, with a sufficient body of troops, stood in readiness within the city; and as soon as Jason, agreeably to his oath, had introduced the hundred Ætolians into the citadel, he shewed himself and fell upon them, so that they were forced immediately to surrender. Agetas, as soon as the day appeared, perceived what had happened, and retreated back again with his forces; having been taken in a snare, not unlike to those which himself had often practised against others.

About the same time also, Philip reduced Bylazora, the largest city of all Pæonia, and which commanded likewise those defiles, that led from Dardania into Macedon. By this conquest therefore he was freed from all farther apprehensions, with regard to the people of that province. For as long as he should remain master of this city, it would be scarcely possible that they should make incursions into his kingdom. When he had secured the place by a sufficient garrison, he sent away Chrysogonus, to draw together, with all diligence, the forces of the upper Macedon: and himself, taking with him the troops that were at Bottia and Amphaxis, began his march and came

to Edesa. And being in this place joined by Chrysogonus, he advanced with all his army; and having, on the sixth day, passed beyond Larissa, and continued his march all night with the greatest haste, he arrived near Melitæa about break of day, and began immediately to scale the city. The inhabitants, who were wholly unprepared against this accident, were so struck with consternation, that they might soon have been reduced with little difficulty. But, because the ladders were too short, the king failed in the attempt.

Among all the faults into which the leaders of an army are at any time betrayed, there are none that more justly deserve our censure than that which was now committed. For how can those generals be excused, who, without having taken any due precaution, without measuring the walls and other places by which they design to approach a city, rush blindly on to the attack? Or can those on the other hand be thought less worthy of reproach and blame, who, when they have informed themselves of the height and dimensions of those objects, leave to any persons, whom chance shall offer, the care of preparing the ladders, with all the other necessary instruments: those instruments which, though they may indeed be framed by a moderate degree of skill, are yet of the utmost importance in their use? For in things of this kind nothing that is necessary can be omitted without some loss. The neglect indeed, how small soever, will immediately be followed by its punishment. For either in the very time of the attack the bravest of the troops are lost: or when they are forced to desist from their design, and to retire before an exulting enemy, who despises their ineffectual efforts, they are then exposed to a still greater danger than before. The truth of this remark might be shewn from numberless examples. For among all that have failed in such attempts, the greater part have either perished in the place, or been involved in the utmost hazard and distress, while few, on the other hand, have been able to escape with safety. It must also

be acknowledged that such attempts, especially when frustrated, draw after them distrust and hatred; and afford a standing and a public admonition, not to those only that are present, but to all who hear of the event, to secure themselves effectually against such enemies. Those, therefore, who are entrusted with the conduct of affairs, ought never to engage in such designs, unless the means that are required for carrying them into execution have all first been regulated with the nicest care. With regard to the measure and construction of ladders and other instruments, there is a method for it which is both easy and infallible. But we must now proceed in our narration: and shall take perhaps, at some future time, occasion to resume this subject; and explain the manner in which such enterprises may be conducted with the best assurance of success.

The king, when he thus had failed in his design, went and encamped near the river Enipeus, and drew together, from Larissa and the other cities, all the stores which he had collected during the preceding winter, in order to form the siege of Thebes in Phthiotis: for the chief design and purpose of his present expedition was to render himself master of this place. The city of Thebes is situated near the sea, at the distance of three hundred stadia from Larissa, and commands both Thessaly and Magnesia; those parts especially of the latter province which lie contiguous to Demetrias; and in the former the districts of Pharsalus and Pheræ. With this advantage the Ætolians, who were at this time in possession of the city, fell frequently with great success upon the neighbouring country, and occasioned no small loss to the people of Demetrias and Pharsalus, and even those of Larissa likewise: for they often extended their incursions as far as to the plain Amyricum. Philip, therefore, having resolved to employ his utmost efforts to become master of the place, brought together a hundred and fifty catapults, with twenty-five machines for throwing stones, and having divided his army into three separate bodies, lodged himself in the nearest

posts. The first division encamped near Scopium; the second in the neighbourhood of Heliotropium; and the last was seated upon a hill which overlooked the city. He fortified the space also that was between the camps with an intrenchment and a double palisade; and with towers of wood, placed at a distance of a hundred paces from each other, and secured by a sufficient guard. And when he had collected together all the stores, and completed the preparations that were necessary, he ordered the machines to approach, and began his attack against the citadel. During the first three days the besieged resisted all his efforts with so great bravery and firmness that the works were not much advanced. But when the continual skirmishes and the darts that were discharged without any intermission had destroyed or wounded great numbers of the inhabitants, they then slackened in their ardour, and afforded leisure to the Macedonian miners to begin their work. But such was the difficulty of the ground, that after nine days' continued labour they were scarcely able to approach near the walls. As they persisted, however, in the task by turns, without any respite either by day or night, in the course of three days more they had undermined the wall to the length of two hundred paces, and placed props of timber under it. But these in a short time sunk beneath the weight; so that the wall fell down, even before the Macedonians had set fire to the wood. They then cleared away, with the greatest diligence, the ruins of the breach, and were just ready to advance to the assault, when the besieged were struck with terror and surrendered. By this conquest the king not only secured both Thessaly and Magnesia against the incursions of the Ætolians, and deprived that people of their accustomed booty, but at the same time also convinced the troops that if they had failed in the siege of Palæa, the treachery of Leontius had been alone the cause of their miscarriage, and that he had justly punished him with death. Being thus become master of the place, he ordered the inhabit-

ants to be sold for slaves; and having filled the city likewise with a colony from Macedon, he changed the name of it from Thebes to Philippi.

About this time some ambassadors arrived again from Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and from Ptolemy, to mediate a peace. Philip, having repeated to them the answer which he had made before, that he was heartily disposed to embrace a peace, ordered them to go and inform themselves whether the sentiments of the Ætolians were the same. But in reality he was not in the least solicitous with respect to peace; but rather was inclined to pursue the course that was before him. Having received notice, therefore, that Scerdilaidas infested the seas round Malea, and pillaged all the merchants; and that some even of his own vessels had been attacked in the port of Leucas in contempt of treaties, he immediately equipped twelve decked ships, eight open barks, and thirty biremes, and steered his course through the Euripus. His intention was to surprise the Illyrians, and to give an early and effectual check to the insolence of those pirates, that he might then be able to resume with vigour the war against the Ætolians, which was still the object of his chief attention, because he was at this time ignorant of all that had passed in Italy. For while he was employed in the siege of Thebes, the Romans were defeated in Tyrrhenia by Annibal. But the news of that battle had not yet arrived in Greece.

The Illyrian barks had retired, however, from those seas before the king was able to arrive. Having cast anchor, therefore, in the port of Cenchreæ, and ordered that the decked ships should sail round Malea to Ægium and Patræ, he drew the rest of his vessels over the isthmus, and commanded them to take their station in the harbour of Lechæum; while himself went from thence to Argos, together with his friends, to be present at the Nemean games.

As he was sitting there, to behold the combats, a courier

arrived from Macedon with the news that the Romans had been defeated in a great battle, and that Annibal was now master of all the open country. Philip immediately shewed his letters to Demetrius of Pharos, but to none besides; and cautioned him to be silent. Demetrius seized the occasion, and pressed the king to put an end at once to his war against the Ætolians; that he might be able to employ all his forces to reduce Illyria, and from thence to pass afterwards into Italy. He represented to him, "that the states of Greece, as they were now well pleased to comply with all that was imposed, would be ready likewise in all future times to receive his laws, and pay an entire submission to his will: that the Achæans were by inclination strongly fixed in all his interests; and that the Ætolians, deterred by the misfortunes that had happened to them in the present war, would fear to engage in any new designs against him: that his passing into Italy would in effect be the most important step towards the conquest of the world: that such an enterprise belonged to none more properly than to himself: and that the time also for it was now most seasonable, in which the Romans had been defeated with so great a loss." This discourse did not fail to make a very quick and deep impression upon the king: young as he then was, and fortunate in all his projects; bold and enterprising in his nature; and descended also from a house whose princes always had conceived the hope of being able to acquire the sovereignty of the world.

In a short time, therefore, though he had shewn, as we have said, his letters only to Demetrius, he assembled together all his friends in council, and demanded their opinions with respect to a peace with the Ætolians. Aratus was by no means averse to peace; for he thought that all things might be now accommodated with some advantage to themselves, because they were superior in the war. The king, therefore, not expecting the return of those ambassadors who had been employed to mediate a peace, deputed to the Ætolians Cleonicus of Naupactus,

who, from the time in which he first was taken, had still remained near the king, waiting for the assembly of the Achæan states. He then left Corinth, and advanced with his fleet and army towards Ægium. And when he arrived at Lasion, that he might not shew too great an eagerness to put an end to the war, he attacked and stormed a fortress that was built upon the ruins of that city; and threatened also to make an incursion into the Elean territory. But afterwards when Cleonicus had returned twice or thrice, and the Ætolians were earnest to obtain a personal conference, he resolved to comply with their request; and having put a stop to all hostilities, sent couriers to the cities of the allies, desiring them to depute some persons to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then went and encamped with his army near Panormus, a port of Peloponnesus, which lies opposite to Naupactus, and there waited the arrival of the deputies. But before they were assembled he passed over to Zacynthus, and having regulated certain matters in that island which required his presence, he returned back again to Panormus.

When the deputies arrived, the king sent away Taurion and Aratus, with some others that were present; who, when they had joined the Ætolians at Naupactus, and had seen, in one short interview, that they were earnestly inclined to peace, returned again without delay, and brought also with them some ambassadors from the Ætolians, who pressed the king to pass over to them with his army, that the conferences might be held face to face, and all disputes more easily be accommodated. Philip yielded to their solicitations, and having embarked his troops, sailed over to Ætolia, and encamped at the distance of about twenty stadia from Naupactus. And having thrown up an intrenchment round his camp and vessels, he waited there till the conferences should begin. The Ætolians all met together, without their arms, at the distance of two stadia only from the camp, and from thence sent their

deputies to the conference. The king proposed to them, by the ambassadors of the allies, as the first condition of the peace, that they should keep on all sides what they then possessed. To this the Ætolians readily consented. With regard to other points, there were afterwards frequent deputations and debates; the greater part of which were of such small importance, that they need not be particularly mentioned. But the discourse which was made by Agelaus of Naupactus, in presence of the king and of the ambassadors of the allies, at the time of the first interview, was such as well deserves to be related.

He said then, "that it seemed to be a point of the greatest moment, that the States of Greece should now at last all resolve to lay aside their mutual wars and contests, and esteem it as the greatest happiness which the gods could give, if they once could be induced to unite together in heart and sentiments, and taking each other by the hand, like men that are obliged to ford a dangerous stream, join all their strength to stand against the attacks of foreign enemies, and secure their cities and themselves from falling a prey to any barbarous people. That though such a union might perhaps, in all its parts, and for any long continuance, be found impracticable, it was, however, highly necessary, that at least in this conjuncture, they should all stand firm in one agreement, and join in common measures for the common safety. That in order to be well assured of this necessity, they might only turn their eyes upon the greatness of those armaments that were at this time in the field, and the importance of the war in which the powers abroad were now engaged. That all who were possessed of even a moderate portion of discernment in the affairs of policy, must be able clearly to perceive, that the conquerors in this war, whether the Carthaginians or the Romans, would never rest contented with the sovereignty of Sicily and Italy, but go on to spread wide their victories, and extend their acquisitions beyond all just and reasonable bounds. He conjured

them therefore with the greatest earnestness, and Philip above all the rest, to secure themselves in time against the impending danger. That with regard to Philip, this security might most effectually be obtained, if instead of weakening, as he had hitherto done, the strength and forces of the Greeks, he rather would regard them all as the members of his own body, and attend to the safety of their provinces with no less vigilance and care, than if they were in truth the natural and proper parts of his own dominions. That by such a conduct the Greeks would all be fixed unalterably in his interests, and ready to assist him in his projects: and that by this attachment to him, not less weighty than sincere, all strangers would effectually be deterred from forming any designs against his kingdom. That if this prince however was eager to be employed in action, let him turn his eyes towards the west, and observe what passed in Italy. That by a wise and diligent attention to all that now should happen in that country, he might find at last perhaps some fair occasion for opening to himself the way to universal empire. That the condition of the present times seemed greatly to encourage such a hope. He pressed him therefore to lay aside all farther thoughts of contest or dissension among the Greeks; and above all things, to be careful not to lose the power of making war upon them, or of concluding peace, whenever himself should choose. For if," continued he, "this cloud, which is now seen hovering in the west, should at last settle and discharge itself upon the provinces of Greece, how greatly do I fear, that an end will be put at once both to our wars and treaties, and to all those childish contests in which we are now so wantonly engaged: and that all of us must then be forced to implore it as a blessing from the gods, that we may be permitted to enjoy the power of taking arms against each other, and of laying them down again, as we shall judge it to be most expedient; or, in a word, of settling any of our differences by our own decision."

This discourse filled all the allies with a strong desire of peace. Philip especially was deeply affected by those sentiments, that were so perfectly adapted to his own designs, and to the temper in which Demetrius had already raised him. As soon, therefore, as they had settled the conditions, and ratified the treaty, they all returned again, with peace, to their respective countries. These events all happened in the third year of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad: the defeat of the Romans in Tyrrhenia; the battle between Ptolemy and Antiochus for the sovereignty of Cœle-Syria; and the conclusion of the war of Philip and the Achæans, against the Ætolians. This therefore was the time, in which the affairs of Greece were now first connected with those of Italy and Afric. For after this period, Philip and the States of Greece no longer regulated their designs, either with respect to war or peace, by the condition of their own country, but all turned their eyes to Italy, to find there the mark by which all their counsels were to be directed. The people of Asia likewise, and of the Islands, soon followed the example: and from this time, whenever they had any cause of dissension and complaint against Attalus or Philip, instead of imploring aid from Antiochus and Ptolemy, instead of paying any regard to the south and east, they on the contrary fixed their whole attention upon the west, and sometimes sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians, and sometimes to the Romans. The Romans, on the other hand, deputed likewise an embassy into Greece. For as they well knew the bold and enterprising spirit of Philip, they were filled with no small apprehensions, that this prince would take advantage also of the times, and add a new embarrassment to the difficulties in which they already were involved.

Thus then have we shewn, agreeably to our first design, at what time, in what manner, and from what causes, the affairs of Greece were first connected with those of Italy and Afric. As soon therefore as we shall have continued

the transactions of the Grecian History, to the time in which the Romans were defeated in the battle of Cannæ, and at which we broke off our relation of the war in Italy, we shall then also close this Book.

As soon as the war was ended, the Achæans chose Timoxenus for their prætor, and, with the rest of the people of Peloponnesus, returning to their own proper laws and customs, and ordinary course of life, began to resume the care of their estates, to cultivate their lands, and to restore again the sacrifices, public games, and all the other rights that were peculiar to their country, and which, among the greater part, had almost sunk into oblivion, through the long continuance of those wars in which they had successively been engaged. For I know not whence it happens, that the people of Peloponnesus, who seem of all men most strongly inclined by nature to cultivate the soft arts of peace and social life, have less enjoyed those blessings, than almost any nation of the world, at least in ancient times. They rather indeed have been, as the poet Euripides expresses it,

> Vex'd with perpetual toils, and ceaseless war.

The cause, however, to which this evil fortune must be ascribed, may be found also in their nature. For being passionately fond of freedom, and eager to retain the supreme command, they choose to have recourse continually to arms, rather than yield a step to any rival power. The Athenians, on the contrary, no sooner were delivered from their apprehensions of the Macedonians, than they began to be persuaded, that the freedom of their state was now securely fixed upon a firm and solid ground. Refusing therefore any more to bear a part in the affairs of Greece, and submitting themselves without reserve to the guidance of Micyon and Euryclidas, they decreed immoderate honours to all the kings, especially to Ptolemy: and, through the indiscretion of those magistrates, consented, without restraint or shame, to every sordid act of

flattery, and carried their adulation to so great excess, that it exceeded even all the bounds of decency.

Not long after this time, Ptolemy was engaged in war against the people of his own kingdom. In arming the Egyptians for the war against Antiochus, he had acted wisely indeed with respect to the present times; but with regard to the future, this measure was attended with most pernicious consequences. For the people, elated by the victory which they had gained at Raphia, began to reject with haughtiness the orders of the king: and being persuaded that they had strength sufficient to regain their liberty, they now only waited for a chief, to go before them in the attempt which they already had concerted, and which not long afterwards was carried into execution.

Antiochus, having made great preparations during the winter, as soon as the summer approached passed beyond mount Taurus, entered into an alliance with king Attalus, and began his war against Achæus.

The Ætolians were at first well pleased that they had put an end to a war which had proved so contrary to all their hopes. They chose, therefore, for their prætor, Agelaus of Naupactus, by whose zeal and pains the peace had chiefly been concluded. Yet scarcely any time had passed when they fell again into discontent and murmurs, and threw out bitter reproaches against this magistrate; who, by having made the peace not with any single people, but with all the states of Greece, had cut off at once all the means of plunder to which they had been accustomed, and had left them destitute of every hope. But Agelaus supported their unjust complaints with so great firmness, that he restrained the madness of their inclinations, and forced them, even against their nature, to be quiet.

King Philip, after the conclusion of the peace, returned by sea to Macedon; and being informed that Scerdilaidas, using still the same pretence, upon which he had before surprised some vessels at Leucas, had now pillaged a little

town of Pelagonia, called Pissæum; and in Dassaretis, had received upon terms of treaty the cities of Phæbatis, Antipatria, Chrysondion, and Geruns; and that he had ravaged a considerable part of Macedon, which lay upon the confines of these cities; he immediately began his march with a body of forces in order to recover again these places, and to give, if it was possible, an entire defeat to Scerdilaidas. For he judged it to be above all things necessary, that he should first firmly settle the affairs of Illyria, and by that means obtain full leisure to pursue without restraint his other projects, and especially his expedition into Italy. For this design was so continually pressed upon him by Demetrius, that it not only filled his mind all day, but even by night became the subject of his dreams. This earnestness, however, with which Demetrius thus urged the king to transport his forces into Italy, by no means sprung from any desire to advance the interests of Philip; though this, perhaps, might be admitted as a third consideration in his mind. But as, on the one hand, he was himself inflamed with a strong and inveterate hatred against the Romans, so he was persuaded also, on the other hand, that if this project should be carried into execution, he should be able to recover again the sovereignty which he had lost in Pharos. Philip then advancing with his army, regained the cities that were just now mentioned: and having taken also in Dassaretis, Creonium and Geruns; upon the lake Lychnidia, Enchelanæ, Cerax, Station, and Boii; in the district of the Calicœnians, Bantia; and in that of the Pyssantines, Orgysus; he then sent his army into winter quarters. This was the winter in which Annibal, having ravaged all the noblest parts of Italy, fixed his camp near Gerunium in Daunia; and in which the Romans also chose for consuls, Caius Terentius and Æmilius.

The king, while he remained in winter quarters, reflected with himself that in order more effectually to advance his projects, it would be necessary to provide a naval armament, completely equipped; not with design to carry

on the war by sea against the Romans, which he could scarcely hope to do with any kind of advantage or success, but that he might be able to transport his forces from place to place, as occasion should demand, and fall upon the enemy before they could be informed of his approach. And as the vessels that were at this time used among the Illyrians seemed most proper for this purpose, he resolved to build upon that model a hundred barks; and was the first indeed of all the kings of Macedon that ever had engaged in such an undertaking. When the vessels were all finished and equipped, and the summer began also to approach, he drew together his forces; and having employed a little time to instruct the Macedonians in the exercise of the oar, he sailed out to sea, about the time in which Antiochus passed beyond mount Taurus; and steering his course through the Euripus, and round the promontory Malea, he arrived near the islands Cephallenia and Leucas, and waited at anchor there, attending to the motions of the Roman fleet. And when he was informed that some of their vessels, which had directed their course to Lilybæum, remained still at anchor at that port, he again sailed out to sea, and advanced with confidence as far as to the coast of Apollonia. But as he approached the mouth of the river Lous, which flows through that part of the country, a panic terror, not unlike to those which are sometimes seen in the armies upon land, ran suddenly through all the fleet. For some barks that had sailed in the rear of all the rest, and had cast anchor near the island Sason, at the entrance of the Ionian sea, came by night to Philip, and informed him that certain vessels, arriving from the Straits, had joined them near that island, and acquainted them that they had left at Rhegium some Roman quinqueremes, which were sailing towards Apollonia, to assist Scerdilaidas. Philip, therefore, being apprehensive that this fleet was just ready to appear in sight, immediately weighed anchor, and directed his course back again with the greatest haste. And when he had con-

tinued his flight, both by night and day, without any intermission, he arrived again on the second day at Cephallenia; and having, in some degree, resumed his courage, he cast anchor there, and pretended that some affairs in Peloponnesus had forced him to return.

But these fears were found at last to be entirely false and groundless. It was true, indeed, that Scerdilaidas, having been informed that Philip had equipped a naval armament, and not doubting but that this prince would soon arrive by sea, and renew the war against him, had implored some succours from the Romans; who sent accordingly to his assistance ten vessels, from the fleet which lay at Lilybæum; and these were the ships that had been seen at Rhegium. But if Philip, instead of being hurried into a rash and inconsiderate flight, had waited the arrival of these vessels, he not only must have gained an easy victory against them, but might also have obtained a most fair occasion for reducing all Illyria. For the great progress and success of Annibal, with the battle which had been fought but just before at Cannæ, engaged at this time all the attention of the Romans. But the king being struck, as we have said, by vain and senseless apprehensions, returned again with disgrace to Macedon, though not with any loss.

About this time also, a very memorable exploit was performed by Prusias. The Gauls, who, on account of the high fame which they had gained in arms, had been brought by Attalus from Europe, to assist him in his war against Achæus, having left the service of that prince in the manner which we before have mentioned, committed horrid outrages and devastations in many of the cities of the Hellespont, and at last laid siege to Ilium. But the people of Alexandria, in Troas, sent against them four thousand men under the conduct of Themistes, and forced them to raise the siege. And having intercepted likewise their provisions, and defeated them in every project, they at last constrained them to abandon all the province.

Being thus driven from Troas, they then seized Arisba in the Abydenian district; and from thence making their incursions, pillaged and insulted all the cities that were near. Prusias, therefore, led an army against them in the field, and engaged them in a set battle. The men were all destroyed in the action, their wives and children slaughtered in the camp, and their baggage left a prey to the conquerors. By this great victory the cities of the Hellespont were at once delivered from their fears; and the Barbarians of Europe also were instructed for the time to come not rashly to engage in the design of passing into Asia.

Such then was the condition of affairs in Asia, and in Greece. In Italy, after the defeat at Cannæ, the greater part of the neighbouring people joined themselves to the Carthaginians, as we have already mentioned. But as we have now completed our relation of those transactions that happened in the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, we shall here close this book; and in that which follows, after a short and summary review of the events that have already been related, we shall go on, agreeably to our design and promise, to describe the form and constitution of the Roman government.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST[a].

The origin and natural revolutions of civil government. An analysis of the government of Rome.

CHAP. I.

* * * WITH regard, indeed, to those states of Greece which have been often raised to a high degree of strength

[a] It is altogether uncertain at what time, and by whose labour or direction, these extracts, from the sixth to the seventeenth book, were selected from the history. Casaubon indeed judges it to have been the work of Marcus Brutus: upon the authority, as I suppose, of Plutarch and of Suidas. The first of these, speaking of the behaviour of Brutus on the day before the battle of Pharsalia, says, "that, when dinner was ended in the camp, while others either went to sleep, or were disquieting their minds with apprehensions concerning the approaching battle, he employed himself in writing till the evening, composing an epitome of Polybius." The words of Suidas are these: "Brutus wrote some letters, and an epitome of Polybius the historian." But an epitome, that is, an abridgment, is a work of a very different kind. The abridger of a history preserves the substance of it entire; omitting such parts only as seem to be superfluous, or of small importance. He relates events in regular order, and in the due course of succession. He forms a chain, of smaller length, indeed, but composed of intermediate and dependent links. He employs also his own style and language: or if he adopts those of his author, it is commonly with some degree of variation which renders them his own. Even in compiling what are called the heads of a history, some connexion and consistency are still required: and such order of the parts as may carry with it the appearance of an entire body. But in these extracts no series of history is preserved. They are all single and separated portions: separated from the body of the work, and not joined even by the smallest connexion one with another. That they remain also in the very words in which they were originally written, is evident not only from the language throughout, which is so peculiar as to exclude all doubt, but more particularly from a single circumstance, which in this case is

and power, and again as frequently have suffered an entire reverse of fortune, it would be no hard task either to treat of the events that have happened among them in past times, or to speak with some assurance concerning those

certain and decisive. Almost every one of these selected portions has in the first sentence one of those connecting particles which shew that another period had gone before. These particles, which add nothing to the sense, which bear a manifest relation to some former sentence, and which, by being retained, serve only to render the beginning of each passage imperfect and abrupt, are alone sufficient to demonstrate that the extracts, as they were selected arbitrarily, and with no reference to any certain plan, were copied also with the most minute exactness, and without diminution or addition. If this then be the work designed by Plutarch and by Suidas, it must at least be acknowledged that they have spoken of it in very improper terms.

But Brutus composed abridgments likewise of the books of Fannius, and of Cælius Antipater, two Roman historians: and Cicero mentions each of these works under the same title of an epitome. In one of his letters he says, "that he had copied his account of a certain fact, which Atticus had controverted with him, from Brutus's epitome of the books of Fannius; and that, as Atticus had refuted him by demonstration, he would now refute Atticus by the authority of Brutus and of Fannius." In another letter he desires, "that Atticus would send him Brutus's epitome of the books of Cælius." And were these abridgments also barely a transcript of separate and unconnected passages? It is scarcely to be conceived, that Brutus, if he ever had employed himself in a labour of this kind for the sake of his own improvement, would have suffered such collections to be published with his name, and be dispersed among his friends: or that Cicero particularly should have been disposed to see or to consult a volume of mere extracts, when the entire histories both of Fannius and Cælius must undoubtedly have had a place in his library.

It seems then that the opinion which ascribes the choice of these extracts to Brutus, not only is destitute of every kind of proof, but wants even the support of probability. Other conjectures might perhaps as easily be offered. But nothing is more vain or trifling than to form conjectures when the truth itself, if it could be known with certainty, would be but of little value. By what person soever the choice was made, it is manifest that it was made with very good judgment; and that the passages all were copied with the most scrupulous fidelity. In this state they now remain: not to be considered as a history; but as genuine and authentic materials for a history of the times to which they belong. Or rather they are to be regarded as so many distinct and separate lessons of political, military, and moral instruction. In this view they will be found to be truly valuable: and the question, at what time, or by whom they were selected, like most other questions which are merely critical, is a matter of curiosity rather than of use.

that must hereafter happen. For it is easy to recount transactions that are known, and obvious likewise, from an attentive view of former accidents, to derive a foresight of the future. But with regard to the republic of the Romans, as the present condition of the government, on account of that variety of parts of which it is composed, cannot be explained without great labour; so, on the other hand, the want of being sufficiently acquainted both with the general institutions, and particular conduct, that have prevailed among this people in former times, renders it not less difficult to pronounce concerning their future fortune. It will be necessary, therefore, to employ the closest pains in order to obtain a distinct and comprehensive knowledge of the advantages that are peculiar to the constitution of this state.

Among those, then, who have treated of these matters in the way of science, the greatest part have distinguished civil government into three several kinds: royalty, aristocracy, and democracy. But it may very reasonably be demanded of these writers, whether they speak of these as the only kinds, or simply as the best. In either case, indeed, they must be charged with error. For, first, that kind of government is undoubtedly to be esteemed the best, which is composed of all the three now mentioned. The proof of this is evident, from experience and from fact, as well as reason. Such, for example, was the system first invented by Lycurgus, and established by him in Sparta. Nor is it true, on the other hand, that these are the only kinds. For many are the examples of monarchical and tyrannical governments, which are greatly different from royalty; though they appear indeed to bear some kind of resemblance to it: which gives occasion to all monarchs, to cover themselves, as well as they are able, under thus disguise, and falsely to assume the regal name. There are likewise many oligarchical states, which seem to approach nearly in their form to aristocracies; though these are in truth very widely distant from them. The

same observation may be made, with respect also to democracies. The following illustration will serve more clearly to explain my meaning.

It is not every government, which is conducted by a single sovereign, that is immediately to be termed a royalty; but that alone, which was at first bestowed by the consent of those who are governed; and which is administered according to right reason, rather than by force and terror. In the same manner, neither is every state to be called an aristocracy, which places the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of a few; but that only, in which those who are most distinguished by their prudence and integrity are appointed by free choice to govern. Nor, lastly, is that to be esteemed a democracy, in which the whole multitude usurp the liberty of pursuing their own counsels and designs without control. But when we see a people, who, from the ancient manners of their country, are accustomed to pay due worship to the gods, to revere their parents, to shew respect to the aged, and to obey the laws; when, in the assemblies of citizens like these, the resolutions of the greater part are made the rule of government; then we behold the form of a just democracy.

There are therefore six different kinds of government: three, which are in the mouths of all men, and which have now been mentioned; and three more, that are allied to these by nature; monarchy, oligarchy, and the government of the multitude. Of all these, the first in order is monarchy; which is established by the bare work of nature, without any preparation or design. From monarchy arises royalty; when art has been applied, to correct the vices of the former. And when royalty has degenerated into its congenial evil, which is tyranny; the destruction of the latter gives birth to aristocracy. This again being changed, according to the natural order of things, into oligarchy; the subjects, roused to vengeance by oppression, resist the injustice of their governors, and establish a democracy. And, in the last place, when the people them-

selves become haughty and untractable, and reject all law; to democracy succeeds, in the course of time, the government of the multitude.

That this deduction is agreeable to truth, will be clear to every one, who considers with attention the commencement and first rise, as well as the changes, which nature has appropriated to each particular kind of government. And indeed there is no other way, but by observing what was the natural birth of every state, to judge with certainty concerning the progress of it towards perfection, and from thence to decline and ruin; and to discern, at what time, in what manner, and into what different form it will at last be changed. Above all others, the Roman government may best be illustrated by such a method of enquiry: because this state, both in its first establishment, and subsequent increase, displays a close conformity with the settled laws, and regular course of nature.

I am not ignorant indeed, that Plato, and some other philosophers, have already treated with the greatest accuracy, of the several forms of government, and their alternate revolutions. But as there are but few, that are able to comprehend the length of their discourses, and the variety of matter which they contain; I shall endeavour rather to give a summary account of those more obvious principles, which are adapted both to common apprehension, and to the purposes of civil history. And in case that any obscurity or defect should be found in the general view, the particular detail, which I shall afterwards subjoin, will afford ample compensation, by removing every difficulty.

What then are the commencements, and what the original rise, of political societies? When a deluge, a pestilential disease, a famine, or any other similar cause, has brought destruction upon the human race; as tradition assures us it has happened in former times, and as it is probable it will again hereafter happen; and when all arts and institutions are extinguished also in the same cala-

mity; from the few, that are left alive, another progeny of men springs up; who, being conscious of their natural weakness, and attracted, like all other animals, to a union with their own kind, associate themselves together in a body. At this time, therefore, it is manifest, that he who is superior both in strength and courage, must govern and conduct the rest. For that this is indeed the genuine work of nature, is most clearly seen in the examples of the several kinds of animals, which are led by natural instinct only, unimproved by reason. Such are cocks, bulls, and boars, as well as other kinds: among all which, those that are confessedly the first in strength, are placed at the head of all the herd. Such, therefore, is the original state of men; when they assemble together in a manner not unlike to that of other animals; and are led by those that are the bravest and most powerful. And this state may properly be called a monarchy: in which the authority of those that govern is measured by their strength. But afterwards, when in these societies a common education and mutual intercourse have produced new sentiments and habits, then first commences royalty; then first arise in the human mind the notions of honourable and base, of just and unjust. These sentiments, and this change of government, are formed in the following manner.

From the union of the two sexes, to which all are naturally inclined, children are born. When any of these therefore, being arrived at perfect age, instead of yielding suitable returns of gratitude and of assistance to those by whom they have been bred, on the contrary attempt to injure them, either by words or actions; it is manifest, that those who behold the wrong, after having also seen the sufferings and the anxious care that were sustained by the parents in the nourishment and education of these children, must be greatly offended and displeased at such proceeding. For man, who among all the various kinds of animals is alone endowed with the faculty of reason, cannot, like the rest, pass over such actions with indiffer-

ence: but will make reflection on what he sees; and, comparing likewise the future with the present, will not fail to express his indignation at this injurious treatment; to which, as he foresees, he also may at some time be exposed. Thus again, when any one, who has been succoured by another in the time of danger, instead of shewing the like kindness to his benefactor, endeavours, at any time, to destroy or hurt him; it is certain, that all men must be shocked by such ingratitude; through sympathy with the resentment of their neighbour; and from an apprehension also, that the case may be their own. And from hence arises, in the mind of every man, a certain sense of the nature and force of duty, in which consists both the beginning and the end of justice. In the same manner likewise, the man, who in the defence of others is seen to throw himself the foremost into every danger, and even to sustain the fury of the fiercest animals, never fails to obtain the loudest acclamations of applause and veneration from all the multitude; while he, who shews a different conduct, is pursued with censure and reproach. And thus it is, that the people begin to discern the nature of things honourable or base, and in what consists the difference between them; and to perceive, that the former, on account of the advantage that attends them, are fit to be admired and imitated, and the latter to be detested and avoided. When he, therefore, who possesses the greatest power, and is placed at the head of all the rest, is found always to comply with the general sentiments, in supporting fortitude and merit, and in distributing to every one impartial justice; the people no longer dreading his superior force, but paying a willing obedience to his wisdom, submit themselves to his authority, and, with one consent, maintain him in his government against all invaders, even to extreme old age. And thus the monarch by insensible degrees becomes a king; when reason takes the rule, in the place of strength and violence. Such are the first perceptions among mankind of justice and injustice, of base and

honourable; and such the origin and rise of genuine royalty. For the people not only confirm these leaders in the possession of the power to which they have been raised, but preserve it to their children likewise: being persuaded, that those who have received their birth and education from virtuous parents, cannot but resemble them in manners. And if, at any time, they are displeased at the conduct of these descendants, they then choose other magistrates and kings. But having been taught to discern by past experience the difference between external faculties and the endowments of the mind, they now appoint to the supreme command, not those that excel in bodily strength and vigour, but those who are distinguished by their wisdom and superior reason.

In ancient times then, those who had been once judged worthy to be invested with the regal dignity, continued, during the remainder of their lives, in the undisturbed possession and exercise of government: fortifying all the advantageous posts; inclosing their towns with walls, and obtaining such an increase of territory as was necessary for the security or the plentiful subsistence of their subjects. And as they assumed no great distinction either in their dress or table, but lived a life that was conformable in every point to that of the other citizens, they raised against themselves no envy, nor afforded any matter of offence. But their descendants, having received the sovereignty in the course of hereditary succession, and finding that all things already were obtained that were convenient for defence, and that the abundance of all necessaries exceeded the demands of nature, were soon hurried, by the wantonness of ease and plenty, into an open gratification of every passion. They then began to be persuaded that it was necessary that kings should be distinguished from their subjects by more splendid habits, and be served with more costly and luxurious tables; and pursued also with full career the indulgence of their amours, however lawless, without admitting any contradiction or control. The first

of these disorders soon excited envy and offence, and the latter wrath and unrelenting hatred. And from hence the royalty being now converted into tyranny, the dissolution of it was begun, by machinations formed against the persons of the sovereigns. These conspiracies were at first contrived, not by men of obscure or low condition, but by those of noblest birth, and who were the most distinguished by their courage and exalted spirit: for such are at all times most impatient of the insolence of princes. But the people being not less offended also and enraged, having once obtained such leaders, readily joined their forces in the same attempt. And thus the form of royalty and monarchy being utterly destroyed, an aristocracy grew up, and was established in its place.

For the people, moved with present gratitude towards those who had delivered them from tyranny, resolved to invest them with the government, and submitted themselves to their guidance and dominion. And these, being on their part also not less satisfied with the honour that was bestowed upon them, regarded the good of the community as the only rule of their administration; and employed their whole care and pains to promote the happiness of individuals, as well as to advance the common interests of all. But when again the children of these governors were raised in the course of succession likewise to the same authority; unpractised, as they had always been, in hardship or misfortune; and unexperienced also in that equality and liberty upon which the government was founded; having been nurtured from their birth in the pre-eminence and honours of their parents; they began, some of them to accumulate inordinate wealth by fraud and violence; while others, allowing a full indulgence to their passions, abandoned themselves without restraint to riot and intemperance, adulteries, and rapes. And thus the aristocracy being now changed into an oligarchy, the passions of the multitude were once more inflamed; and the same destruction followed that had

before fallen upon the kings, when they had degenerated into tyrants. For no sooner was there found a single citizen, who, being encouraged by the general discontent and hatred that such a conduct had occasioned, was bold enough, either by words or actions, to attempt any thing against the governors, than the people with one consent were ready to concur in the design. And when they had killed or driven into banishment their oppressors, not daring to establish royalty, on account of the misconduct of the former kings, and being deterred also by the mischiefs which they still more lately had experienced from yielding the sovereignty to any certain number, they were then forced to have recourse to the single expedient that was left untried, and to place in themselves alone their confidence of safety. And having assumed into their own hands the conduct and the trust of government, they thus framed a democracy upon the ruins of the oligarchy.

During some time afterwards, and while any of those remained alive who had beheld the miseries that flowed from the former unequal government, the people were all well pleased to maintain this popular state; and thought that nothing was more valuable than equality and liberty. But after the course of one or two successions, as new men sprang up, even these enjoyments, being now become familiar to them, began, through long use and habit, to be lessened in their esteem, and to give place to the desire of pre-eminence and power. Above all the rest, those who had acquired the greatest wealth, being eager likewise to possess the sovereign rule, and not able to obtain it by their own strength and virtue, endeavoured to draw the people to their side; scattering among them, with profusion, all their riches, and employing every method of corruption; till, by degrees, they had taught them to fix their whole attention upon the gifts by which they were sustained, and rendered their avidity subservient to the views of their own wild ambition. And thus the frame of the democracy was dissolved; and gave place to the rule of

violence and force. For when once the people are accustomed to be fed without any cost or labour, and to derive all the means of their subsistence from the wealth of other citizens; if at this time some bold and enterprising leader should arise, whose poverty has shut him out from all the honours of the state, then commences the government of the multitude: who run together in tumultuous assemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; assassinations, banishments, and divisions of lands: till, being reduced at last to a state of savage anarchy, they once more find a master and a monarch, and submit themselves to arbitrary sway.

Such is the circle in which political societies are revolved, and such the natural order in which the several kinds of government are varied, till they are at last brought back to that original form from which the progress was begun. With the help of being acquainted with these principles, though it may not perhaps be easy to foretel the exact time of every alteration that may happen in a state, yet, if our sentiments are free from prejudice and passion, we shall very rarely be deceived in judging of the degree, either of exaltation or decline, in which it actually subsists, or in declaring the form into which it must at last be changed. With regard especially to the commonwealth of Rome, this view of things cannot fail to lead us into the knowledge both of the original constitution, and the gradual progress of it towards perfection, as well as of the future revolution also that awaits it. For as this government, above all others, received, as we have already observed, both its first establishment, and subsequent increase, from the settled laws of nature; it is reasonable to believe, that it will follow the same laws likewise, in being changed hereafter into a contrary form. But this will be more distinctly seen in the following parts of this discourse. I shall now give a short account of the frame of government that was established by Lycurgus. Such a digression will not be foreign to my design.

This legislator then, having considered with himself, that, according to the necessary and established course of all things, the several accidents and changes that have now been mentioned were inevitable, formed this conclusion: that every simple and single kind of government was insecure, on account of its proneness to degenerate into that more vicious kind, which was most nearly allied to it by nature. For as rust is the inbred bane of iron, and worms of wood; and as these substances, even though they should escape all external violence, at last fall a prey to the evils that are as it were congenial with them; in the same manner likewise, every single kind of government breeds within itself some certain vice, which is attached by nature to its very form, and which soon causes its destruction. Thus royalty degenerates into tyranny; aristocracy in oligarchy; and democracy into savage violence. Nor is it possible, as we have already shewn, but that in the course of time, these conversions must be thus produced. Lycurgus therefore, foreseeing this necessity, instead of adopting either of the single forms of government, collected what was excellent in them all; and so joined together the principles that were peculiar to each several form, that no one of them might be extended beyond proper bounds, and slide into the evil to which it was inclined by nature: but that each separate power, being still counteracted by the rest, might be retained in due position, and the whole government be preserved in equal balance; as a vessel, when impelled to either side by the wind, is kept steady by a contrary force. Thus the dread of the people, to whom a certain share was allotted in the government, restrained the excesses and abuse of royalty. The people, on the other hand, were maintained in a due submission to the kings, by their apprehension of the power of the senate. For the members of the senate, being all selected from the best among the citizens, were always ready to support the cause of justice; and, by throwing their own weight into the scale, when either side was in danger of

being oppressed by the other, to give such strength to the weakest party, as the constitution of the state required. By these means, the Lacedæmonians preserved their liberty entire, for a much longer time than any other people. And thus it was that Lycurgus, having been taught by reason to foresee a certain train of causes and events, was able to give a lasting strength to his establishment. The Romans on the other hand, though they arrived indeed at the same perfection in the constitution of their state, were not led to it by foresight or by reason. But, during the course of many contests and disorders in which they were engaged, having been careful always to adopt, upon every change, such improvements as the occasion itself suggested to them, they at last obtained the same end likewise, as that which Lycurgus had proposed; and completed the most beautiful frame of government, of all that are in our times known.

Let me only add, that a good judge of history will not form his opinion of a writer from any thing that is omitted by him, but from that which he relates. If indeed any falsehood should be found in the things which he relates, it may be reasonable to impute the omission of the rest to ignorance. But if, on the other hand, all that he relates be true, it ought then to be acknowledged, that his silence with regard to some particular things is not the effect of ignorance, but of judgment and design.

CHAP. II.

THE three kinds of government, of which we have been speaking, were all found united in the commonwealth of Rome. And so even was the balance between them all, and so regular the administration that resulted from their union, that it was no easy thing, even for the Romans themselves, to determine with assurance, whether the entire state was to be esteemed an aristocracy, a democracy, or a monarchy. For if they turned their view upon the power

of the consuls, the government appeared to be purely monarchical and regal. If, again, the authority of the senate was considered, it then seemed to wear the form of aristocracy. And, lastly, if regard was had to the share which the people possessed in the administration of affairs, it could then scarcely fail to be denominated a popular state. The several powers that were appropriated to each of these distinct branches of the constitution at the time of which we are speaking, and which, with very little variation, are even still preserved, are these which follow.

The consuls, while they remain in Rome, before they lead out the armies into the field, are the masters of all public affairs. For all the other magistrates, the tribunes alone excepted, are subject to them, and bound to obey their commands. They introduce ambassadors into the senate. They propose also to the senate the subjects of debate; and direct all the forms that are observed in making the decrees. Nor is it less a part of their office likewise, to attend to those affairs that are transacted by the people; to call together general assemblies; to report to them the resolutions of the senate; and to ratify whatever is determined by the greater number. In all the preparations that are made for war, as well as in the whole administration in the field, they possess an almost absolute authority. For to them it belongs to impose upon the allies whatever services they judge expedient; to appoint the military tribunes; to enrol the legions, and make the necessary levies; and to inflict punishments in the field, upon all that are subject to their command. Add to this, that they have the power likewise to expend whatever sums they may think convenient from the public treasure; being attended for that purpose by a quæstor, who is always ready to receive and execute their orders. When any one therefore directs his view to this part of the constitution, it is very reasonable for him to conclude, that the government is no other than a simple royalty. Let me only observe, that if in some of these particular points, or in

those that will be hereafter mentioned, any change should be either now remarked, or should happen at some future time, such an alteration will not destroy the general principles of this discourse.

To the senate belongs, in the first place, the sole care and management of the public money. For all the returns that are brought into the treasury, as well as all the payments that are issued from it, are directed by their orders. Nor is it allowed to the quæstors to apply any part of the revenue to particular occasions as they arise, without a decree of the senate; those sums alone excepted, which are expended in the service of the consuls. And even those more general, as well as greatest disbursements, which are employed at the return of every five years, in building and repairing the public edifices, are assigned to the censors for that purpose, by the express permission of the senate. To the senate also is referred the cognizance of all the crimes, committed in any part of Italy, that demand a public examination and enquiry: such as treasons, conspiracies, poisonings, and assassinations. Add to this, that when any controversies arise, either between private men, or any of the cities of Italy, it is the part of the senate to adjust all disputes; to censure those that are deserving of blame: and to yield assistance to those, who stand in need of protection and defence. When any embassies are sent out of Italy; either to reconcile contending states; to offer exhortations and advice; or even, as it sometimes happens, to impose commands; to propose conditions of a treaty; or to make a denunciation of war; the care and conduct of all these transactions is entrusted wholly to the senate. When any ambassadors also arrive at Rome, it is the senate likewise that determines, in what manner they shall be received and treated, and what answer shall be given to their demands. In all these things, that have now been mentioned, the people has no share. To those therefore, who come to reside in Rome during the absence of the consuls, the government appears to be purely aristo-

cratical. Many of the Greeks especially, and of the foreign princes, are easily led into this persuasion: when they perceive that almost all the affairs, which they are forced to negociate with the Romans, are determined by the senate.

And now it may well be asked, what part is left to the people in this government: since the senate, on the one hand, is vested with the sovereign power, in the several instances that have been here enumerated, and more especially in all things that concern the management and disposal of the public treasure; and since the consuls, on the other hand, are entrusted with the absolute direction of the preparations that are made for war, and exercise an uncontrolled authority in the field. There is, however, a part still allotted to the people; and indeed the most important part. For first, the people are the sole dispensers of rewards and punishments; which are the only bands, by which states and kingdoms, and, in a word, all human societies, are held together. For when the difference between these is overlooked, or when they are distributed without due distinction, nothing but disorder can ensue. Nor is it possible indeed, that government should be maintained, if the wicked stand in equal estimation with the good. The people then, when any offences demand such punishment, frequently condemn the citizens to the payment of a fine: those especially, who have been invested with the dignities of the state. To the people alone belongs the right to sentence any one to die. Upon this occasion, they have a custom which deserves to be mentioned with applause. The person accused is allowed to withdraw himself in open view, and embrace a voluntary banishment, if only a single tribe remains, that has not yet given judgment; and is suffered to retire in safety to Prænestę, Tibur, Naples, or any other of the confederate cities. The public magistracies are allotted also by the people to those who are esteemed worthy of them: and these are the noblest rewards that any government

can bestow on virtue. To the people belongs the power of approving or rejecting laws: and, which is still of greater importance, peace and war are likewise fixed by their deliberations. When any alliance is concluded, any war ended, or treaty made; to them the conditions are referred, and by them either annulled or ratified. And thus again, from a view of all these circumstances, it might with reason be imagined, that the people had engrossed the largest portion of the government, and that the state was plainly a democracy.

Such are the parts of the administration, which are distinctly assigned to each of the three forms of government, that are united in the commonwealth of Rome. It now remains to be considered, in what manner each several form is enabled to counteract the others, or to co-operate with them.

When the consuls, invested with the power that has been mentioned, lead the armies into the field, though they seem indeed to hold such absolute authority as is sufficient for all purposes, yet are they in truth so dependent both on the senate and the people, that without their assistance they are by no means able to accomplish any design. It is well known, that armies demand a continual supply of necessaries. But neither corn, nor habits, nor even the military stipends, can at any time be transmitted to the legions unless by an express order of the senate. Any opposition therefore, or delay, on the part of this assembly, is sufficient always to defeat the enterprises of the generals. It is the senate likewise, that either compels the consuls to leave their designs imperfect, or enables them to complete the projects which they have formed, by sending a successor into each of their several provinces, upon the expiration of the annual term, or by continuing them in the same command. The senate also has the power to aggrandize and amplify the victories that are gained, or, on the contrary, to depreciate and debase them. For that which is called among the Romans a

triumph, in which a sensible representation of the actions of the generals is exposed in solemn procession to the view of all the citizens, can neither be exhibited with due pomp and splendour, nor indeed be in any manner celebrated, unless the consent of the senate be first obtained, together with the sums that are requisite for the expence. Nor is it less necessary on the other hand, that the consuls, how far soever they may happen to be removed from Rome, should be careful to preserve the good affections of the people. For the people, as we have already mentioned, annuls or ratifies all treaties. But that which is of greatest moment is, that the consuls, at the time of laying down their office, are bound also to submit their past administration to the judgment of the people. And thus these magistrates can at no time think themselves secure, if they neglect to gain the approbation both of the senate and the people.

In the same manner the senate also, though invested with so great authority, is bound to yield a certain attention to the people, and to act in concert with them, in all affairs that are of great and general importance. With regard especially to those offences that are committed against the state, and which demand a capital punishment, no enquiry can be perfected, nor any judgment carried into execution, unless the people confirm what the senate has before decreed. Nor are the things, which more immediately regard the senate itself, less subject to the same control. For if a law should at any time be proposed, to lessen the received authority of the senators; to detract from their honours and pre-eminence; or even to deprive them of a part of their possessions; it belongs wholly to the people to establish or reject it. And even still more; the interposition of a single tribune is sufficient, not only to suspend the deliberations of the senate, but to prevent them also from holding any meeting or assembly. Now the peculiar office of the tribunes is, to declare those sentiments that are most pleasing to the

people: and principally to promote their interests and designs. And thus the senate, on account of all these reasons, is forced to cultivate the favour, and gratify the inclinations of the people.

The people again, on their part, are held in a dependence on the senate, and are obliged to pay a certain deference, both to the particular members, and to the general body. In every part of Italy there are works of various kinds, which are let to farm by the censors; such as the building, or repairing, of the public edifices, which are almost innumerable; the care of rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, and lands; every thing, in a word, that falls beneath the dominion of the Romans. In all these things, the people are the undertakers: insomuch that there are scarcely any to be found, that are not in some degree involved, either in the contracts, or in the management of the works. For some take the farms of the censors at a certain price: others become partners with the first. Some again engage themselves as sureties for the farmers: and others, in support also of these sureties, pledge their own fortunes to the state. Now the supreme direction of all these affairs is placed wholly in the senate. The senate has the power to allot a longer time; to lighten the conditions of the agreement, in case that any accident has intervened; or even to release the contractors from their bargain, if the terms should be found impracticable. There are also many other circumstances, in which those that are engaged in any of these public works, may be either greatly injured, or greatly benefited by the senate; since to this body, as we have already observed, all things that belong to these transactions are constantly referred. But there is still another advantage of much greater moment. For from this order likewise judges are selected, in almost every accusation of considerable weight, whether it be of a public or private nature. The people therefore, being by these means held under due subjection and restraint, and doubtful of obtaining that protection, which they foresee

that they may at some time want, are always cautious of exciting any opposition to the measures of the senate. Nor are they, on the other hand, less ready to pay obedience to the orders of the consuls; through the dread of that supreme authority, to which the citizens in general, as well as each particular man, are obnoxious in the field.

Thus, while each of these separate parts is enabled either to assist or obstruct the rest, the government, by the apt contexture of them all in the general frame, is so well secured against every accident, that it seems scarcely possible to invent a more perfect system. For when the dread of any common danger, that threatens from abroad, constrains all the orders of the state to unite together, and co-operate with joint assistance; such is the strength of the republic, that as, on the one hand, no measures that are necessary are neglected, while all men fix their thoughts upon the present exigency; so neither is it possible, on the other hand, that their designs should at any time be frustrated through the want of due celerity, because all in general, as well as every citizen in particular, employ their utmost efforts, to carry what has been determined into execution. Thus the government, by the very form and peculiar nature of its constitution, is equally enabled to resist all attacks, and to accomplish every purpose. And when again all apprehensions of foreign enemies are past, and the Romans being now settled in tranquillity, and enjoying at their leisure all the fruits of victory, begin to yield to the seduction of ease and plenty, and, as it happens usually in such conjunctures, become haughty and ungovernable; then chiefly we may observe, in what manner the same constitution likewise finds in itself a remedy against the impending danger. For whenever either of the separate parts of the republic attempts to exceed its proper limits, excites contention and dispute, and struggles to obtain a greater share of power, than that which is assigned to it by the laws; it is manifest, that since no one single part, as we have shewn in this dis-

course, is in itself supreme or absolute, but that on the contrary the powers which are assigned to each are still subject to reciprocal control, the part, which thus aspires, must soon be reduced again within its own just bounds, and not be suffered to insult or depress the rest. And thus the several orders, of which the state is framed, are forced always to maintain their due position: being partly counterworked in their designs; and partly also restrained from making any attempt, by the dread of falling under that authority to which they are exposed.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The military institutions of the Romans.

CHAP. I.

AS soon as the consuls are declared, the military tribunes are next appointed. Of these, fourteen are taken from the citizens who have carried arms in five campaigns; and ten more from those who have completed ten. For every citizen, before he arrives at the age of forty-six, is obliged to serve either ten years in the cavalry, or sixteen in the infantry: those alone excepted who are placed by the censors below the rate of four hundred drachmæ; and who are all reserved for the service of the sea. In the case of any pressing danger, the time of continuing in the infantry is extended to twenty years. No citizen is permitted by the laws to sue for any magistracy before he has completed the service of ten campaigns.

When the enrolments are to be made, the consuls give notice before to the people of a certain day, upon which all the Romans that are of sufficient age are required to attend. This is done every year. And when the day arrives, and the men all appear at Rome, and are assembled afterwards in the Capitol, the tribunes of the youngest order divide

themselves, as they are appointed either by the consuls or the people, into four separate bodies. For this division corresponds with the first and general distribution of all the forces into four separate legions. Of these tribunes, therefore, the four first named are assigned to the first legion; the three next to the second; the following four to the third; and the last three appointed to the fourth. Of the tribunes of the oldest order the two that are first named are placed in the first legion; the three second in the second; the two that follow in the third; and the remaining three in the fourth. By this distribution and division an equal number of commanders is allotted to each legion. When this is done, the tribunes of each legion, having taken their seats apart, draw out the tribes one by one by lot; and calling to them that upon which the lot first falls, they select from it four young men, as nearly equal as is possible both in age and stature. And when these are brought forward from the rest, the tribunes of the first legion first choose one; then those of the second a second; those of the third take the third; and those of the fourth the last. After these four more are made to approach. And now the tribunes of the second legion first make their choice; then those of the rest in order; and last of all the tribunes of the first. In the same manner again, from the next four that follow, the tribunes of the third legion choose the first; and those of the second the last. And thus, by observing the same method of rotation to the end, it happens that the legions, with respect to the men of which they are composed are all alike and equal. The number allotted to each legion is four thousand and two hundred; and sometimes five thousand, when any great and unusual danger is foreseen. After these had been thus selected it was anciently the custom to choose the cavalry; and to add two hundred horsemen to each four thousand of the infantry. But in the present times, the citizens, of whom the cavalry is composed, are first enrolled: having been before appointed by the censors, according to the rate of

their revenue: and three hundred are assigned to every legion.

When the enrolments are in this manner finished, the tribunes having assembled together in separate bodies the soldiers of their respective legions, choose out a man that seems most proper for the purpose, and make him swear in the following words: "that he will be obedient to his commanders, and execute all the orders that he shall receive from them to the utmost of his power." The rest of the soldiers of the legion, advancing one by one, swear also that they will perform what the first has sworn. About the same time, likewise, the consuls send notice to the magistrates of the allied cities of Italy, from which they design to draw any forces, what number of troops are wanted, and at what time and place they are required to join the Roman army. The cities, having raised their levies in the same manner that has now been mentioned, and administered to them the same oath, send them away attended by a paymaster and a general.

At Rome the tribunes, after the ceremony of the oath is finished, command all the legions to return without arms upon a certain day, and then dismiss them. And when they are met together again at the appointed time, those that are youngest, and of the lowest condition, are set apart for the light-armed troops. From the next above these in age are selected the hastati; from those that are in full strength and vigour, the principes; and the oldest of all that are inrolled are the triarii. For every legion is composed of all these different bodies; different in name, in age, and in the manner in which they are armed. This division is so adjusted that the triarii amount to six hundred men: the principes are twelve hundred: the hastati an equal number: and all the rest light-armed. If a legion consist of more than four thousand men, the several bodies are increased in due proportion; except only that the number of the triarii always remains the same.

The youngest of these troops are armed with a sword,

light javelins, and a buckler. The buckler is both strongly made, and of a size sufficient for security. For it is of a circular form, and has three feet in the diameter. They wear likewise upon their heads some simple sort of covering; such as the skin of a wolf, or something of a similar kind; which serves both for their defence, and to point out also to the commanders those particular soldiers that are distinguished either by their bravery or want of courage in the time of action. The wood of the javelins is of the length of two cubits, and of the thickness of a finger. The iron part is a span in length: and is drawn out to such a slender fineness towards the point, that it never fails to be bent in the very first discharge, so that the enemy cannot throw it back again. Otherwise it would be a common javelin.

The next in age, who are called the hastati, are ordered to furnish themselves with a complete suit of armour. This among the Romans consists in the first place of a shield of a convex surface; the breadth of which is two feet and a half; and the length four feet, or four feet and a palm in those of the largest size. It is composed of two planks, glued together, and covered first with linen, and afterwards with calves'-skin. The extreme edges of it, both above and below, are guarded with plates of iron: as well to secure it against the strokes of swords, as that it may be rested also upon the ground without receiving any injury. To the surface is fitted likewise a shell of iron; which serves to turn aside the more violent strokes of stones, or spears, or any other ponderous weapon. After the shield comes the sword, which is carried upon the right thigh, and is called the Spanish sword. It is formed not only to push with at the point; but to make a falling stroke with either edge, and with singular effect; for the blade is remarkably strong and firm. To these arms are added two piles or javelins; a helmet made of brass; and boots for the legs. The piles are of two sorts; the one large, the other slender. Of the former those that are round have

the breadth of a palm in their diameter; and those that are square the breadth of a palm likewise in a side. The more slender, which are carried with the other, resemble a common javelin of a moderate size. In both sorts, the wooden part is of the length of about three cubits. The iron which is of the same length likewise, and turned outwards at the point, in the form of a double hook, is fastened to the wood with so great care and foresight, being carried upwards to the very middle of it, and transfixed with many close-set rivets, that it is sooner broken in use than loosened; though in the part in which it is joined to the wood, it is not less than a finger and a half in thickness. Upon the helmet is worn an ornament of three upright feathers, either red or black, of about a cubit in height; which being fixed upon the very top of the head, and added to their other arms, make the troops seem to be of double size, and gives them an appearance which is both beautiful and terrible. Beside these arms, the soldiers in general place also upon their breasts a square plate of brass, of the measure of a span on either side, which is called the guard of the heart. But all those who are rated at more than ten thousand drachmæ cover their breasts with a coat of mail. The principes and the triarii are armed in the same manner likewise as the hastati; except only that the triarii carry pikes instead of javelins.

From each of these several sorts of soldiers, the youngest alone excepted, ten men of distinguished merit are first selected; and after these, ten more. These are all called commanders of companies; and he that is first chosen has a seat in the military council. After these, twenty more are appointed to conduct the rear; and are chosen by the former twenty. The soldiers of each different order, the light troops excepted, are then divided into ten separate parts; to each of which are assigned four officers, of those who have been thus selected; two to lead the van, and two to take the care of the rear. The light-armed troops are distributed in just proportion among them all. Each

separate part is called a company, a band, or an ensign: and the leaders, captains of companies or centurions. Last of all, two of the bravest and most vigorous among the soldiers are appointed by the captains to carry the standards in each company. It is not without good reason that two captains are assigned to every company. For as it always is uncertain, what will be the conduct of an officer, or to what accidents he may be exposed; and, as in the affairs of war, there is no room for pretext or excuse; this method is contrived, that the company may not upon any occasion be destitute of a leader. When the captains therefore both are present, he that was first chosen leads the right, and the other the left of the company. And when either of them is absent, he that remains takes the conduct of the whole. In the choice of these captains not those that are the boldest and most enterprising are esteemed the best; but those rather, who are steady and sedate; prudent in conduct, and skilful in command. Nor is it so much required, that they should be at all times eager to begin the combat, and throw themselves precipitately into action; as that, when they are pressed, or even conquered by a superior force, they should still maintain their ground, and rather die than desert their station.

The cavalry is divided also into ten parts or troops. In each of these, three captains first are chosen; who afterwards appoint three other officers to conduct the rear. The first of the captains commands the whole troop. The other two hold the rank and office of decurions: and all of them are called by that name. In the absence of the first captain, the next in order takes the entire command. The manner in which these troops are armed is at this time the same as that of the Greeks. But anciently it was very different. For, first, they wore no armour upon their bodies; but were covered, in the time of action, with only an under garment. In this method, they were able indeed to descend from their horses, or leap up again upon them, with greater quickness and facility: but, as they were

almost naked, they were too much exposed to danger in all close engagements. The spears also that were in use among them in former times were, in a double respect, very unfit for service. First, as they were of a slender make, and always trembled in the hand, it not only was extremely difficult to direct them with exactness towards the destined mark; but very frequently, even before their points had reached the enemy, the greatest part of them were shaken into pieces by the bare motion of the horses. Add to this, that these spears, not being armed with iron at the lowest end, were formed to strike only with the point, and, when they were broken by this stroke, were afterwards incapable of any farther use. Their buckler was made of the hide of an ox, and in form was not unlike to those globular dishes which are used in sacrifices. But this was also of too infirm a texture for defence: and, as it was at first not very capable of service, it afterwards became wholly useless, when the substance of it had been softened and relaxed by rain. The Romans, therefore, having observed these defects, soon changed their weapons for the armour of the Greeks. For the Grecian spear, which is firm and stable, not only serves to make the first stroke with the point in just direction and with sure effect; but, with the help of the iron at the opposite end, may, when turned, be employed against the enemy with equal steadiness and force. In the same manner also the Grecian shields, being strong in texture, and capable of being held in a fixed position, are alike serviceable both for attack and for defence. These advantages were soon perceived, and the arms adopted by the cavalry. For the Romans, above all other people, are excellent in admitting foreign customs that are preferable to their own.

As soon as this partition of the troops is finished, and the necessary orders given by the tribunes concerning their arms, they are then commanded to return to their respective habitations, till the day arrives, upon which they are bound by oath to assemble together in a certain place ap-

pointed by the consuls. Each of the consuls usually appoints a different place for the assembling of his whole army: for to each of them are allotted separately two Roman legions, together with an equal part of the allies. No pretence of accident is at any time allowed to those that are enrolled; nor any excuse admitted, in opposition to their oath, to discharge them from appearing on the day prescribed; unless some auspices should intervene, or some disaster happen, which renders their attendance absolutely impracticable. When they are all met together, the distribution of the allies, who are assembled also with the Romans, is regulated by twelve officers, called prefects, and appointed by the consuls, in the following manner. They first choose out from all the allies a body of the bravest and most skilful soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, to serve near the person, and under the immediate orders, of the consuls. These are called the extraordinary, or selected troops. The whole infantry of the allies is usually the same in number with that of the Romans; but the cavalry three times as many. Among these, about a third part of the cavalry, and a fifth part of the infantry, are set apart as extraordinaries. The rest are then divided by the prefects into two equal bodies; one of which is called the right, and the other the left wing. When all things are thus prepared, the tribunes direct both the Romans and the allies to encamp.

As the method of this encampment is uniform and simple, at all times and in every place the same, I shall here endeavour to set before the reader a clear description of the order that is observed in the Roman armies, both in their marches and encampments; and of the manner also in which they are drawn up in battle. For no man, surely, who is not utterly averse to all great and laudable pursuits, can be unwilling to attend to such enquiries; in which his search will be rewarded with a kind of knowledge not unworthy of the pains.

CHAP. II.

THIS then is the manner in which the Romans form their camp. As soon as the ground is chosen for the purpose, that part of it which is judged to be the most convenient, both for the dispatch of orders, and for discerning every thing that is transacted, is first marked out for the place of the consular tent. In this place, an ensign is planted in the ground, and round it is measured a quadrangular figure, every side of which is distant from the ensign a hundred feet; so that the whole contents of it are equal to the space of four acres. On one side of this figure, the side that appears to be the most commodious for water and for forage, the Roman legions are disposed in the following order. In every legion there are six tribunes, as we have already mentioned; and two legions are assigned to each of the consuls. With each consul, therefore, twelve tribunes always are encamped. Their tents are ranged in one right line, which is parallel to that side of the quadrangular space that has been chosen, and distant from it fifty feet. The ground between is occupied by their horses, their beasts of burden, and other baggage. These tents are so disposed, that the back of them is turned towards the consular ground; while the opposite side looks down upon the external aspect of the camp, which we shall hereafter therefore call the front. They are set at equal distances each from the other; and so extended, that the line, upon which they stand, traverses the whole breadth of the space that is occupied by the legions.

A hundred feet are then measured downwards, from the front of the tents of the tribunes: and at the extremity of this distance a line is drawn, which runs parallel to these tents. From this line forwards, the legions are encamped in the following manner. The line being first divided into two equal parts, from the point of the division another right line is drawn; on either side of which, and at an

equal distance from it, is placed the cavalry of the two legions; opposite the one to the other; and separated from each other by a space of fifty feet. The disposition of the tents, both of the cavalry, and of the infantry, is the same. For every company, as well as every troop, occupies a square piece of ground, the front of which is turned towards the open spaces, and contains in length a hundred feet. The depth of it is usually so adjusted as to be equal to the length; except in the encampment of the triarii, and the allies. When the legions are composed of any greater number, both the length and depth of this ground are increased in due proportion. The cavalry, being thus placed towards the middle of the tents of the tribunes, forms a kind of street, which runs down transversely from the right line before mentioned, and the space that lies before those tents. All the other spaces bear also the resemblance of regular streets; the sides of which are formed by the troops and companies, which are ranged lengthways through the camp.

Behind the cavalry, and in the same form likewise, are placed the triarii of both legions: a company being joined close to every troop; but looking a contrary way; and containing in depth only one half of its length. For the triarii usually amount to no more than half of the number of the other bodies. But as the depth of the companies is thus diminished, the ground upon which they are ranged is rendered equal in length to that which is occupied by the rest.

Opposite to the triarii of the two legions, and at the distance of fifty feet on either side, the principes are encamped; with their faces turned towards the open spaces. By this position, two more streets are formed; which take their beginning also at the same right line, or space of a hundred feet that lies before the tents of the tribunes; and are ended on the opposite side, which we before called the front of all the camp. Next to the principes are lodged the hastati; being placed close behind the former, but

looking also a contrary way. As each of the different bodies, of which a legion is composed, is divided into ten companies, from hence it happens, that the several intervals, or streets, are all of an equal length, and are alike terminated by that side of the camp which is the front; towards which also the last of all the companies are always turned.

At the distance of fifty feet from the hastati, and opposite also to them, is lodged the cavalry of the allies; beginning from the same right line; and extended likewise, as the other bodies, down to the front of the camp. The whole infantry of the allies, as we have already mentioned, before the extraordinaries are selected, is equal to that of the legions: and the cavalry, after a third part has been taken from it to serve as extraordinaries, is double in number to the Roman cavalry. The depth therefore of the ground, upon which these troops are placed, is enlarged in such proportion, that they cover always the same space in length with that which is occupied by the Romans. The several streets, which are five in number, being thus completely formed, the infantry of the allies, to whose companies a depth of ground is also assigned in proportion to their number, is, in the same manner, ranged close behind the cavalry, but looking a contrary way. For their faces are turned towards the intrenchment, and look down upon both sides of the camp.

In every company, the foremost tents on either side are occupied by the centurions. In this disposition both of the infantry and cavalry, the sixth company and the sixth troop are separated from the fifth by a distance of fifty feet. By this division another street is formed, which traverses all the rest, and passes through the middle of the camp, in a line parallel to the tents of the tribunes. This street, on account of the position of it below five companies, is called the Quintan.

The space, that falls behind the tents of the tribunes, and which lies close, on either hand, to the consular ground,

is allotted, one side of it for the forum, and the other for the place of the quæstor and the military stores. Behind the last of the tents of the tribunes on either side, and in a line, which, falling upon those tents, forms that kind of figure which is called the forceps, the extraordinary cavalry is lodged, together with the volunteers that accompany the consul: being all of them extended along the two sides of the camp; with their faces turned towards the place of the quæstor on the one side, and to the forum on the other. And as they are in this manner placed near the consul in the camp, so likewise in the marches, and, in a word, upon all occasions that arise, they are bound to observe with particular attention, both the quæstor and the consul: and to be at all times ready to receive their orders. Close behind this cavalry, but with their faces turned towards the intrenchment, the infantry which is selected also for the same service is encamped.

Above these troops is left an open space of a hundred feet in breadth, and parallel to the tents of the tribunes, which passes along the forum, the consular ground and the place of the quæstor; and is continued through the whole extent of the camp. On the upper side of it is placed the extraordinary cavalry of the allies; looking down upon the forum, the place of the quæstor, and the consular ground. Between the middle of their tents, and opposite to the consular ground, is left another open space, of the breadth of fifty feet; which divides the former at right angles, and leads towards the hindmost part of the camp. Close again behind this cavalry, the extraordinary infantry of the allies is lodged; with their faces turned towards the intrenchment, and to the rear of all the camp. The ground that remains unoccupied on either side is reserved for strangers, or for such of the allies as are brought by any temporary occasion to the army. When the arrangement is thus completed, the entire camp forms the figure of an equilateral square: and with respect to the several parts, the separation of them into streets, together with the order in

which all things are disposed, renders the appearance not unlike to a city.

The intrenchment is distant from the tents on every side two hundred feet. The ground that lies between is subservient to many valuable purposes. It renders the entrance of the legions into the camp as well as their egress from it both easy and commodious. For as the several companies advance into this open space according to the direction of their respective streets, they never meet together in the way, nor are exposed to the danger of being thrown down and trampled upon each by the other. In this place likewise the cattle and all the spoil that is taken from the enemy is kept in safety during the night. But the greatest advantage is, that in case of an attack by night, neither fire nor scarcely any weapon can reach the troops; and even those few javelins that happen to fall among them are rendered ineffectual by the distance, as well as by the tents that cover them on every side.

From this detail of the numbers, both of the infantry and cavalry of which an army is at any time composed; whether four or five thousand men be allotted to each legion; from the description of the depth and length of the ground upon which the companies are lodged; and from the account of the measure and respective distances of the streets and open spaces; it will be easy to conceive the extent and whole circumference of the camp. When the allies that first join the army, or those that are brought by any occasion to the camp, exceed the usual number, the ground that lies on one side of the consular tent, together with that which was before mentioned, is assigned to the latter; the forum and the place of the quæstor being thrown together for this purpose as the necessity requires. And with regard to the former, the numbers that are redundant are disposed in another separate street, behind the Roman legions, on both sides of the camp. When the four legions and both the consuls are assembled together within one intrenchment, in order to understand

the manner of their encampment, nothing more is necessary than to conceive two armies lodged in the form that has been now described, turned one towards the other, and joined together in the part that is assigned to the extraordinaries of either army; who are placed, as we have already mentioned, in the rear of all the camp, with their faces turned towards the intrenchment. In this position the camp forms the figure of an oblong square. The ground upon which it stands is double in extent to that of the former camp; and the circumference of it larger by one half. Such is the method which is constantly observed when both consuls are encamped together within the same intrenchment. And when they form separate camps, the only difference is, that the forum, the place of the quæstor, and the consular tents, are placed in the middle, between both the armies.

CHAP. III.

AS soon as the encampment is completed, the tribunes, having assembled together all the persons, both free men and slaves, that are in the army, administer to every one of them apart the following oath: "That they will not steal any thing from the camp; and even if they find any thing that they will bring it to the tribunes." Two companies are then selected from the principes and the hastati of each legion; to whose care is assigned the ground that lies before the tents of the tribunes. For as the Romans usually pass the whole time of day in this open space, they employ great care to keep it continually cleansed and sprinkled. Of the remaining eighteen companies three are allotted to every tribune. For in every legion there are twenty companies of principes and hastati, as we have already mentioned, and six tribunes. The service which these three companies are obliged to perform in turn for the tribune to whom they are respectively assigned is to

fix his tent, to make the ground around it plain and level, and to cover his baggage, if it be necessary, with a fence. It is their duty likewise to place a double guard near him for his security. This guard consists of four soldiers, two of whom are stationed before the tent, and two behind it, near to the horses. As three companies are thus allotted to every tribune, and as each company, without including the triarii and the light-armed troops, who are both exempted from this duty, contains more than a hundred men, this service falling to each company in turn upon every fourth day only, becomes very light and easy; and, while it ministers in all things that are necessary to the convenience of the tribunes, renders their office likewise more illustrious, and brings respect to their authority.

The triarii are discharged from bearing any part in this attendance. But each of their companies is obliged to furnish every day a guard to the troop of cavalry that lies close behind it. The duty of this guard, among other functions, is principally to observe the horses: that they may not at any time be rendered unfit for service by being entangled in the bands that hold them; or by breaking away, and falling in among other horses, create tumult and disorder in the camp. One company alone, which is selected in turn from the whole body of these troops, is stationed round the tent of the consul; as well to secure his person against all surprise, as for the sake of adding splendour also to his dignity.

The intrenchment is made by the allies, on those two sides, near to which their two wings are encamped. The two other sides are left to the Romans; to each legion, one. Each side is divided into certain portions, according to the number of the companies: and a centurion assigned, to overlook the work in every portion. The whole side is afterwards examined and approved by two of the tribunes; whose office it is to attend to every thing that is done in the camp. For the tribunes, dividing among themselves the time of their campaign, and presiding, two in turn,

during two months of the six, have the supreme direction of every kind of necessary work and service, that falls within the time of their command. The same duty is performed, in the same manner likewise, among the allies, by the officers who are called prefects.

As soon as daylight appears, the leaders of the cavalry, and the centurions, attend all together at the tents of the tribunes; and the tribunes at that of the consul. The necessary orders are then delivered by the consul to the tribunes; by the tribunes to the centurions and the leaders of the cavalry; and by these, as the proper time for each arrives, to the rest of the army.

The delivery of the signal for the night is secured in the following manner. Every tenth cohort, both of infantry and cavalry, is lodged at the extreme end of those lines which form the separate streets. From each of these a soldier is selected, who is discharged from all the duties of the guard. This soldier, every day about the time of the setting of the sun, goes to the tent of the tribune, and receives from him the signal; which is a flat tablet of wood, with some word inscribed upon it; and having returned back again to his own company, he then delivers the tablet with the signal, in the presence of some witnesses, to the leader of the cohort that is lodged next to his own. From him again, it passes to the following cohort; and, in the same manner, through all the rest in order, till it arrives at the first cohorts, which lie nearest to the tents of the tribunes; and from thence it is carried back again to the tribunes, while it is yet day. If all the tablets that were delivered are brought back, the tribune then perceives that the signal has passed through all the camp. But if any one be wanting, he immediately examines into the fact; and, having discerned by the inscriptions in what quarter the tablet has been stopped, inflicts a suitable punishment upon those that have been the cause of that neglect.

The guards for the night are thus disposed. One entire

company is always stationed round the consular tent. The tents of the tribunes, and the cavalry, are guarded by soldiers taken from each company, in the manner that has before been mentioned. Each separate company appoints a guard likewise for itself from its own body. The other guards are disposed as the consul directs. But the usual custom is, to allot three soldiers to the quæstor; and two to each of the members of the council. The external sides of the camp are guarded by the light-armed forces; who are distributed every day along the whole intrenchment. From the same body, ten men are also stationed before every gate that leads into the camp.

Among those that are appointed for the watch, one soldier from each guard, the same whose duty it is to take the first watch, is carried in the evening to the tribune, by one of the conductors of the rear of every company. The tribune, having given to all of them some small tablets of wood, inscribed with a certain character, and appropriated to each particular guard, dismisses them to their respective stations.

The care of making the rounds is entrusted to the cavalry. The captain of the first troop in each of the legions is bound to send his orders in the morning to one of the conductors of the rear; commanding him to appoint, before the time of dinner, four soldiers of the troop to go the rounds; and to send notice also afterwards, in the evening, to the leader of the second troop, that it is his turn to inspect the watch on the following day. The leader of the second troop gives notice, in like manner, for the third day; and the same method is observed through all the rest. The four soldiers, who are thus selected from the first troop by the conductor of the rear, having determined among themselves each particular watch by lot, go afterwards to the tent of the tribune, and receive from thence in writing an account of the several posts, and of the number of the guards, which they are required to visit.

They then take their station near to the first company of the triarii. For the leader of this company has the care of marking the time of every watch by the sound of a trumpet. And when the signal is made, he, to whose inspection the first watch was allotted, taking with him some of his friends as witnesses, goes round to all the posts that are recited in his orders, and visits all the guards: not those alone that are stationed round the intrenchment, and before the gates, but those also that are placed in every single company and in every troop. If he finds the centinels awake and fixed in their several stations, he receives from them the wooden tablets. But if he discovers that any one is sleeping, or has left his post, he desires those that are present to bear testimony to the fact, and then retires. The same method is observed in all the following watches. The care of sounding the trumpet, by which notice is given in the same moment both to the centinels and the inspectors of the watch, is left, as we have said, to the captains of the first company of the triarii, who perform this duty alternately, day by day.

As soon as the morning appears, those who have made the rounds carry the tablets to the tribune. If they bring the full number back they are suffered to depart without any question. But if the number be less than that of the guards, the inscriptions are immediately examined, in order to discover from what particular guard the tablet has not been returned. When this is known, the centurion is ordered to attend and to bring with him the soldiers that were appointed for that guard; that they may be questioned face to face with him who made the rounds. If the fault be in the guard, he that made the rounds appeals at once to the testimony of his friends who were present. Such evidence always is demanded from him; and in case that he is not able to bring this proof, the whole blame rests upon himself. The council is then

assembled; the cause is judged by the tribune, and the guilty person sentenced to be bastinaded. This punishment is inflicted in the following manner.

The tribune, taking a stick into his hand, gently touches the criminal; and immediately afterwards all the soldiers of the legion attack him with sticks and stones; so that the greatest part of those that are thus condemned are destroyed immediately in the camp. If any one escapes, yet he is not saved. For all return into his country is shut against him: nor would any of his friends or kindred ever dare to receive him into their houses. Those, therefore, who have once fallen into this misfortune are lost without resource. The conductor of the rear, and the leader of the troops, if ever they neglect to give the necessary notice in due time, the first to the inspectors of the watch, and the second to the leader of the succeeding troop, are subject also to this punishment. From the dread of a discipline so severe, and which leaves no place for mercy, every thing that belongs to the guards of the night is performed with the exactest diligence and care.

The soldiers are subject to the control of the tribunes, as these are to that of the consuls. The tribunes have the power of imposing fines, and demanding sureties, and of punishing with stripes. The same authority is exercised by the prefects among the allies.

The punishment of the bastinade is inflicted also upon those who steal any thing in the camp; those who bear false testimony; who, in their youth, abuse their bodies; and who have been three times convicted of one fault. These offences are punished as crimes. There are others that are regarded as the effects of cowardice, and disgraceful to the military character. When a soldier, for example, with a view of obtaining a reward, makes a report to the tribunes of some brave action which he has not performed. When any one, through fear, deserts his station, or throws away his arms in the time of an engagement. For hence it happens that many, through the dread of the

allotted punishment, when they are attacked by much greater numbers, will even encounter manifest destruction, rather than desert that post which they had been ordered to maintain. Others again, when they have lost their shield, or sword, or any other part of their arms in the time of action, throw themselves precipitately into the very midst of the enemy; hoping either to recover what they have lost, or to avoid by death the reproaches of their fellow-soldiers, and the disgrace that is ready to receive them.

If it happens that many are at one time guilty of the same fault, and that whole companies retire before the enemy, and desert their station; instead of punishing all of them with death, an expedient is employed which is both useful and full of terror. The tribune, assembling together all the soldiers of the legion, commands the criminals to be brought forwards: and, having sharply reproached them with their cowardice, he then draws out by lot either five, or eight, or twenty men, according to the number of those that have offended. For the proportion is usually so adjusted, that every tenth man is reserved for punishment. Those, who are thus separated from the rest by lot, are bastinaded without remission in the manner before described. The others are sentenced to be fed with barley instead of wheat; and are lodged without the intrenchment, exposed to insults from the enemy. As the danger, therefore, and the dread of death, hangs equally over all the guilty, because no one can foresee upon whom the lot will fall; and as the shame and infamy of receiving barley only for their support is extended also alike to all; this institution is perfectly well contrived, both for impressing present terror, and for the prevention of future faults.

The method by which the young men are animated to brave all danger is also admirable. When an action has passed in which any of the soldiers have shewn signal proofs of courage, the consul, assembling the troops together, commands those to approach who have distinguished

themselves by any eminent exploit. And having first bestowed on every one of them apart the commendation that is due to this particular instance of their valour, and recounted likewise all their former actions that have ever merited applause, he then distributes among them the following rewards. To him who has wounded an enemy, a javelin. To him who has killed an enemy, and stripped him of his armour, if he be a soldier in the infantry, a goblet; if in the cavalry, furniture for his horse; though, in former times, this last was presented only with a javelin. These rewards, however, are not bestowed upon the soldiers who, in a general battle, or in the attack of a city, wound or spoil an enemy; but upon those alone who, in separate skirmishes, and when any occasion offers, in which no necessity requires them to engage in single contest, throw themselves voluntarily into danger, and with design provoke the combat. When a city is taken by storm, those who mount first upon the walls are honoured with a golden crown. Those also who have saved the lives of any of the citizens, or the allies, by covering them from the enemy in the time of battle, receive presents from the consul, and are crowned likewise by the persons themselves who have been thus preserved, and who, if they refuse this office, are compelled by the judgment of the tribunes to perform it. Add to this, that those who are thus saved are bound, during the remainder of their lives, to reverence their preserver as a father, and to render to him all the duties which they would pay to him who gave them birth. Nor are the effects of these rewards, in raising a spirit of emulation and of courage, confined to those alone who are present in the army, but extended likewise to all the citizens at home. For those who have obtained those presents, beside the honour which they acquire among their fellow-soldiers, and the reputation which immediately attends them in their country, are distinguished after their return, by wearing in all solemn processions such ornaments as are permitted only to be worn by those who have

received them from the consuls as the rewards of their valour. They hang up likewise in the most conspicuous parts of their houses the spoils which they have taken, as a monument and evidence of their exploits. Since such, therefore, is the attention and the care with which the Romans distribute rewards and punishments in their armies, it is not to be thought strange that the wars in which they engage are always ended with glory and success.

The military stipends are thus regulated. The pay of a soldier in the infantry is two oboli by the day; and double to the centurions. The pay of the cavalry is a drachma. The allowance of corn to each man in the infantry consists of about two third parts of an Attic bushel of wheat by the month. In the cavalry, it is seven bushels of barley, and two of wheat. To the infantry of the allies the same quantity is distributed as to that of the Romans; but their cavalry receives only one bushel and a third of wheat, and five of barley. The whole of this allowance is given without reserve to the allies. But the Roman soldiers are obliged to purchase their corn and clothes, together with the arms which they occasionally want, at a certain stated price, which is deducted by the quæstor from their pay.

In breaking up the camp the following order is observed. When the first signal is made, the soldiers all take down the tents, and collect the baggage. No tent, however, is at any time either set up or taken down until those of the consul and the tribunes are first set up, or first removed. Upon the second signal the baggage is placed upon the beasts of burden; and at the third, the foremost of the troops begin their march, and the whole camp is put in motion. In the van are usually placed the extraordinaries; and after these the right wing of the allies, which is followed by the baggage of both these bodies. Next to these marches the first of the Roman legions, with its baggage also behind it. The second legion follows; having behind it likewise both its own baggage, and the baggage

of the allies, who are in the rear; for the rear of all the march is closed with the left wing of the allies. The cavalry marches sometimes in the rear of the respective bodies to which it belongs; and sometimes on the flanks of the beasts that are loaded with the baggage; keeping them together in due order, and covering them from insult. When any attack is expected to be made upon the rear, the extraordinaries of the allies, instead of leading the van, are posted in the rear. In all the other parts the disposition remains the same. Of the two legions, and the two wings of the allies, those that are on one day foremost in the march, on the following day are placed behind; that, by thus changing their rank alternately all the troops may obtain the same advantage in their turn, of arriving first at water and at forage. There is also another disposition which is used when any immediate danger threatens, and the march is made through an open country. At such times, the hastati, the principes, and the triarii, are ranged in three parallel lines, each behind the other, with the baggage of the hastati in the front. Behind the hastati is placed the baggage of the principes, who are followed likewise by that of the triarii; so that the baggage and the several bodies are mingled in alternate order. The march being thus disposed, the troops, as soon as any attack is made, turning either to the left or to the right, advance forwards from the baggage towards that side upon which the enemy appears. And thus, in a moment of time, and by one single movement, the whole army is formed at once in order of battle; except only that the hastati are perhaps obliged to make an evolution; and the beasts of burden also, with all those that attend upon the baggage, being now thrown into the rear of all the troops, are covered by them from all danger.

At the end of a march, when the army arrives near the place of their encampment, a tribune and some centurions, who are appointed always for this purpose, advance before

the rest. And having surveyed the whole ground upon which the encampment is be made, they first determine the place of the consular tent, and on which side of it the legions may most commodiously be lodged. When this is done, they measure out the space that is allotted for the consul; and then draw a line for the place of the tents of the tribunes; and parallel to it another line, below which the legions are to be encamped. In the same manner also the several portions of the ground, which lies on the other side of the consular tent, and which we have already particularly described, are ascertained by lines. And as the distances are fixed, and well known by use, the admeasurement of the whole is easy, and soon completed. Four ensigns are then planted in the ground, the first in the place in which the tent of the consul is to be set up; the second, on that side of the consular ground which has been chosen for the front of the camp; the third in the middle of the line that is designed for the tents of the tribunes; and the last upon the other parallel line below which the legions are to be encamped. These ensigns are all of a purple colour; that of the consul excepted, which is white. The portions on the other side of the consular ground are sometimes marked by simple pikes fixed in the ground, and sometimes by ensigns of some different colour. Last of all, the several streets are drawn out by measure, and pikes also planted to denote the limits of each particular street. The necessary effect of this method is, that when the troops upon their march approach so near as to discover the place of their encampment, they are able to discern at once all the different parts of the camp; being taught by the ensign of the consul to point out and distinguish all the rest. And as they all occupy the same place always in the camp, so that each man knows in what particular street, and in what part also of the street, he is going to be lodged, their entrance very much resembles that of a body of soldiers into their own native city. For as these, already knowing, both in general and in particular,

the quarters of the city in which their habitations stand, turn aside immediately from the gates, and arrive at their several houses without mistake; just so it happens in the Roman camp. It is to this facility indeed that the Romans chiefly attend upon such occasions; and, for the sake of obtaining it, pursue so contrary a method to that of the Greeks. For the Greeks, when they encamp, consider principally the natural strength of the place that is chosen, and accommodate their disposition to it; being partly studious to avoid the labour of throwing up an intrenchment; and partly persuaded also, that fortifications raised by art are always less secure than those that are made by nature. In compliance, therefore, with what the nature of the ground demands, they not only are obliged to give every kind of figure to their camp, but to vary also the position of the several parts, as the place for each is favourable or improper. And from hence it happens that the soldier never knows with certainty either his own place in the camp, or that of the body to which he belongs. But the Romans willingly submit to the task of making an intrenchment, and to other painful works, for the sake of the advantage that is found, in employing a method which is never changed, and which renders all the parts of the camp familiar to the army.

Such then in general are the institutions of the Romans, which belong to the establishment of their armies, and more especially to the manner of their encampment.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

Some peculiar excellencies in the Roman government and manners, illustrated by a comparison of them with those of other states.

CHAP. I.

THE states, which almost all writers have transmitted to us with applause, are those of Lacedæmon, Mantinea,

Crete, and Carthage. To these some have also added the governments of Thebes and Athens. With regard to the first it may be allowed, perhaps, that they merit some distinction. But the republics of Thebes and Athens very little deserve, in my opinion, to be made the subject of any particular discourse; because they neither rose by natural steps to greatness, nor remained for any long continuance in a prosperous state; nor sunk again by a gradual decline. But having owed all their exaltation merely to some favourable seasons, and borrowed a kind of transient splendour from the times, in that very moment which saw them flourish, and which seemed to promise a lasting confirmation of their power, they were thrown back again by fortune into a contrary state. Thus the Thebans, having applied to their own advantage the imprudent conduct of the Lacedæmonians, and the hatred in which they were held by their allies, acquired, indeed, through the ability of one or two of their citizens who discerned these circumstances, the reputation of superiority among the Greeks. But that the success which they at this time gained arose not from the constitution of their government, but from the skill of those who governed, the ill fortune that followed close behind rendered clear and incontestable. For as the power of Thebes grew up and flourished with the lives of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and, when they died, was immediately dissolved, there needs no farther proof that the splendour which then accrued to the republic was derived wholly from the virtue of these citizens, and not from any excellence in the state. The same observation may be applied as justly to the commonwealth of Athens, which flourished indeed at many other particular seasons; but having been raised by the able conduct of Themistocles to the greatest height of glory, within a short time afterwards was sunk again in weakness and disgrace. The cause of this sudden change was no other than the irregular constitution of the government. For the Athenian state may very aptly be compared to a ship in which there is no per-

son that commands. In such a vessel, when the mariners, either through the dread of enemies, or the impending dangers of a storm, are compelled to act together in concert, and attend to the orders of the pilot, all things that are necessary are performed by them with diligence and skill. But no sooner are these apprehensions past than they begin to reject all control, and engage in mutual contest, such as the diversity of their sentiments inspires. And while some among them are earnest for continuing their course, and others not less urgent with the pilot to cast anchor; while the first unfurl the sails, and the latter interpose with violence, and command them to be furled; this spirit of contention and seditious obstinacy not only affords a shameful spectacle to those that behold it at a distance, but renders the safety likewise of all who are embarked in the vessel so precarious, that very frequently, when they have escaped the dangers of the greatest seas and most dreadful tempests, they are at last wrecked even in the harbour, and when they have just gained the land. In the same manner the Athenian state, after having been conducted, by the virtue of the governors and the people through all the difficulties of the most threatening seasons, has often unaccountably been overset in times of perfect safety and tranquillity. There is no need, therefore, to say more concerning this republic, or that of Thebes; in both of which the multitude disposes all things, as the impulse of their own peculiar passions prompts them; the people in the one being naturally precipitate and eager above the rest of men; and in the other, trained up to habits of force and violence.

Let us pass on then to the government of Crete; and consider upon what grounds it is that the most sensible of the ancient writers, such as Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, have ventured to affirm; first, that the frame of this republic very much resembles, or rather is the same with that of Sparta; and secondly, that the constitution itself is such as deserves to be applauded. In my

judgment, their opinion with respect to both these points is very distant from the truth. Whether it be or not, the following observations may enable us to determine. And first, concerning the little resemblance that is to be found between these two states.

There are three things mentioned by these writers as distinguishing the Spartan government. The first is the equality of possessions in land; of which no one is permitted to obtain a greater portion than another; the whole lands that belong to the community being divided in equal shares among all the citizens. The second is the neglect of wealth that prevails among this people. That even the use of money is unknown among them; and that, by consequence, the very root of that contention which springs from the possession of less and more, is utterly destroyed. In the last place, as they affirm, the kings of Lacedæmon enjoy a perpetual and hereditary sovereignty; and the senators, with whose participation, and by whose advice, the entire administration of affairs is regulated, hold their dignity during life. Now in all these points the government of Crete is contrary to that of Sparta. For the Cretans are permitted by their laws to possess, without any bounds, as large a property in land as they are able to obtain. The estimation also of money is so great among them, that it is not only necessary, but even highly honourable, to acquire it. And indeed the desire of amassing wealth, and the habit of increasing it, are so deeply implanted in the very manners of this people, that they alone of all mankind think nothing sordid or dishonourable that is joined with gain. Lastly, in this island, all the public offices are renewed every year; and are constituted in a manner purely democratical. I have often, therefore, been led to wonder, that states which differ so essentially should be thus joined together by these writers, as if they were of a similar kind and nature. But it is not only to be imputed to them that they have barely overlooked this difference. For when they have employed great pains to shew that Lycurgus alone, of all mankind,

discerned the means that were most proper to give stability to government; that as every state can only be maintained by bravery in war, and union among the citizens, this legislator, when he took away from his republic the desire of riches, removed also with it all civil tumult and dissension, and that the Lacedæmonians, being thus freed from these domestic evils, lived together in perfect concord, and preserved such order in their government, as was not to be found in any of the states of Greece; when they have discoursed, I say, at large on all these circumstances, and seen also, on the other hand, that the natural lust of wealth which prevails among the Cretans gives birth continually both to private contests, and to public dissensions and divisions; produces murders and intestine wars; yet still, as if a difference so acknowledged were of small importance, they boldly venture to affirm, that there is a close resemblance between the two republics. And indeed Ephorus, when he treats of either of them, employs indiscriminately the same expressions, the proper names alone excepted; so that, unless we attend to these, it is not possible to distinguish which of the two is designed by his discourse. Such, then, is the difference between the government of Crete and that of Sparta. I shall now endeavour to shew that the first is neither worthy of applause nor imitation.

There are two things which are essential parts in every government, and according to which the principles and constitution of the state itself will be found to deserve either praise or censure. These are, the manners and the laws. The manners and the laws that are most worthy to be approved, are those which form the lives of individuals to sanctity and moderation, and the general temper of the whole community to mildness and to justice; and those which produce contrary effects are fit to be rejected. When we perceive, therefore, that the laws and manners of a state are such as tend to promote the exercise of honesty and virtue, as it is very reasonable for us to con-

clude that the state itself is virtuous, and the members of it free from all reproach; so, on the other hand, when an immoderate desire of gain governs the life of every private citizen, and the public transactions of the state are contrary to justice, we may safely venture to declare that the laws of this community are bad, the manners of the people corrupt and vicious, and the whole government contemptible. Now if we consider the character and conduct of the Cretans, it is certain that scarcely an example can be found of any nation in which the private manners of the citizens are more replete with artifice and fraud, or where the public enterprises are more unjust. As this republic, therefore, neither bears any resemblance to that of Sparta, nor deserves in any manner to be approved or imitated, we shall here reject it, as unworthy of our notice in that comparison which we propose.

Nor is it reasonable to expect, that we should allow any place in this enquiry to the commonwealth of Plato; how much soever it may have been celebrated by some philosophers. For, as in the contests between artists, or combatants, in the public games, no persons are admitted who have not first been trained in proper discipline, and prepared by exercise; so neither can this republic hope to be received into any competition concerning excellence, till it has first shewn its strength in some real action. To compare it, such as it has hitherto remained, with the republics of Sparta, Rome, and Carthage, would be no less absurd than to compare a statue with a breathing and living man. For though the beauty of the work might deserve perhaps the highest commendation, yet the comparison of an inanimate form with an animated being would very justly appear defective and incongruous to every eye. Leaving, therefore, this republic and that of Crete, let us return again to the government of Sparta.

When I consider the laws that were invented by Lycurgus, as tending to promote union among the citizens, to secure the Laconian territory from all danger, and to

maintain his people in the undisturbed enjoyment of their liberty, they appear to have been so wisely framed, and adapted with such true foresight to all these purposes, that I am almost tempted to regard them rather as the work of some divinity, than the effort of any human mind. In establishing an equality of possessions, and in restraining all the citizens to the constant use of one simple and common diet, he chose the means that were most effectual to render the Lacedæmonians moderate in their desires, and to banish all contention from the state. By accustoming them to painful labours, and dangerous exercises, he formed them to be brave and daring. And where temperance and fortitude meet together in any man, or in any community of men, it is scarcely possible that those, who are habituated to the practice of these virtues, should ever be disturbed by intestine evils, or be subdued by external force. Lycurgus, therefore, having thus raised the frame of his republic upon these two principles, secured all Laconia against the dread of any hostile attempts, and established the liberty of Sparta upon such strong foundations that it subsisted during many ages. But it appears to me that this legislator, both in the frame of his particular laws, and in the general constitution of the government, wholly overlooked one great precaution; the precaution that was necessary to restrain his people from invading the territory of their neighbours, from aspiring to an extended sovereignty, or raising themselves in any manner to be the arbiters of all affairs. As the particular members of the state were accustomed by his institutions to live in the simplest and most frugal manner, and to remain satisfied with their own possessions, it was also no less requisite, either to infuse into the whole community the same willing spirit of contentedness and moderation, or to force them through necessity to adopt it. But Lycurgus, while he freed his citizens from jealousy and envious competition in their private manners, and in the administration of their own particular government, at the same time allowed full

scope to their ambitious projects against the rest of Greece, and suffered them to become most eager and aspiring in the pursuit both of wealth and power. For who is ignorant that the Lacedæmonians, the first almost of all the Greeks, were led by the desire of gain to invade the territory of their neighbours, and declared war against the Messenians, with design to reduce them into slavery? Who has not heard, that, when they had invested Messene with their forces, they persisted in the attempt with so great obstinacy, that they bound themselves by an oath never to raise the siege till the city should be taken? Nor is it less notorious to all mankind, that, with a view of establishing their own dominion over the Grecian states, they submitted to obey the orders even of a people whom they had conquered. For after having bravely maintained the cause of the common liberty of all the Greeks, and subdued the Persians who brought an army to invade it; after having defeated and forced them to return, they basely yielded to them many cities by the peace that was concluded by Antalcidas; that they might obtain in return the treasure that was necessary for acquiring to themselves the sovereignty of Greece. Upon this occasion it was that they first perceived in what part their government was defective. For as long as they confined their views of conquest to the neighbouring states, and to the limits of Peloponnesus, they were able to draw from Laconia itself such supplies as were sufficient for the accomplishment of their designs; as all things that were necessary were collected within their reach; and as the distance was commodious for their return back again to their country, and for transporting all their stores. But when they attempted to maintain fleets upon the sea, and to send their armies beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, it very soon was seen that neither their iron money, nor the exchange of their own natural commodities that was permitted by Lycurgus, was capable of supplying all their wants; but that money of a common currency, and stores drawn from foreign

countries, were necessary to support such enterprises. They were forced, therefore, to supplicate assistance from the court of Persia; to impose a tribute upon the islands; and to exact contributions from all the Greeks; being fully assured that, while they adhered to the institutions of Lycurgus, they could never hope to obtain the supreme command in Greece, nor be able even in any manner to contend for superiority with other states. But to what purpose is this digression? It is to shew by the evidence of facts that the laws of Lycurgus were perfectly well contrived, for maintaining his people in the undisturbed possession of their own proper territory, and for preserving their liberty inviolable; and that, where men propose to themselves these advantages as the sole objects of political institutions, it must be acknowledged that there neither is, nor ever was, any system or frame of government more eligible than that of Sparta. But if a people, on the other hand, should desire to enlarge their views, and esteem it more great and glorious to hold many in subjection, to extend their empire over various countries, and to draw the submission of all mankind towards them; it must then also be confessed, that the Lacedæmonian constitution is defective; and that the Roman government is framed with greater strength for the accomplishment of such designs. The truth of this remark is manifest from that which happened in the two republics. For the Lacedæmonians no sooner endeavoured to obtain the sovereignty of Greece, than they brought their own liberty into danger. But the Romans, having once subdued to their dominion all the parts of Italy, reduced, within a short time afterwards, the whole world beneath their yoke; being greatly assisted in the execution of this vast attempt by the plenty of all necessary stores, and the facility with which they were continually supplied.

CHAP. II.

THE government of Carthage seems also to have been originally well contrived with regard to those general forms that have been mentioned. For there were kings in this government, together with a senate, which was vested with aristocratical authority. The people likewise enjoy the exercise of certain powers that were appropriated to them. In a word, the entire frame of the republic very much resembled those of Rome and Sparta. But at the time of the war of Annibal the Carthaginian constitution was worse in its condition than the Roman. For as nature has assigned to every body, every government, and every action, three successive periods; the first, of growth; the second, of perfection; and that which follows, of decay; and as the period of perfection is the time in which they severally display their greatest strength; from hence arose the difference that was then found between the two republics. For the government of Carthage, having reached the highest point of vigour and perfection much sooner than that of Rome, had now declined from it in the same proportion: whereas the Romans, at this very time, had just raised their constitution to the most flourishing and perfect state. The effect of this difference was, that among the Carthaginians the people possessed the greatest sway in all deliberations, but the senate among the Romans. And as, in the one republic, all measures were determined by the multitude; and, in the other, by the most eminent citizens; of so great force was this advantage in the conduct of affairs, that the Romans, though brought by repeated losses into the greatest danger, became, through the wisdom of their counsels, superior to the Carthaginians in the war.

If we descend to a more particular comparison, we shall find, that with respect to military science, for example, the Carthaginians, in the management and conduct of a naval war, are more skilful than the Romans. For the

Carthaginians have derived this knowledge from their ancestors through a long course of ages; and are more exercised in maritime affairs than any other people. But the Romans, on the other hand, are far superior in all things that belong to the establishment and discipline of armies. For this discipline, which is regarded by them as the chief and constant object of their care, is utterly neglected by the Carthaginians; except only that they bestow some little attention upon their cavalry. The reason of this difference is, that the Carthaginians employ foreign mercenaries; and that on the contrary the Roman armies are composed of citizens, and of the people of the country. Now in this respect the government of Rome is greatly preferable to that of Carthage. For while the Carthaginians entrust the preservation of their liberty to the care of venal troops; the Romans place all their confidence in their own bravery, and in the assistance of their allies. From hence it happens, that the Romans, though at first defeated, are always able to renew the war; and that the Carthaginian armies never are repaired without great difficulty. Add to this, that the Romans, fighting for their country and their children, never suffer their ardour to be slackened; but persist with the same steady spirit till they become superior to their enemies. From hence it happens, likewise, that even in actions upon the sea, the Romans, though inferior to the Carthaginians, as we have already observed, in naval knowledge and experience, very frequently obtain success through the mere bravery of their forces. For though in all such contests a skill in maritime affairs must be allowed to be of the greatest use; yet, on the other hand, the valour of the troops that are engaged is no less effectual to draw the victory to their side.

Now the people of Italy are by nature superior to the Carthaginians and the Africans, both in bodily strength, and in courage. Add to this, that they have among them certain institutions by which the young men are greatly

animated to perform acts of bravery. It will be sufficient to mention one of these, as a proof of the attention that is shewn by the Roman government, to infuse such a spirit into the citizens as shall lead them to encounter every kind of danger for the sake of obtaining reputation in their country. When any illustrious person dies, he is carried in procession with the rest of the funeral pomp, to the rostra in the forum; sometimes placed conspicuous in an upright posture; and sometimes, though less frequently, reclined. And while the people are all standing round, his son, if he has left one of sufficient age, and who is then at Rome, or, if otherwise, some person of his kindred, ascends the rostra, and extols the virtues of the deceased, and the great deeds that were performed by him in his life. By this discourse, which recalls his past actions to remembrance, and places them in open view before all the multitude, not those alone who were sharers in his victories, but even the rest who bore no part in his exploits, are moved to such sympathy of sorrow, that the accident seems rather to be a public misfortune, than a private loss. He is then buried with the usual rites; and afterwards an image, which both in features and complexion expresses an exact resemblance of his face, is set up in the most conspicuous part of the house, inclosed in a shrine of wood. Upon solemn festivals, these images are uncovered, and adorned with the greatest care. And when any other person of the same family dies, they are carried also in the funeral procession, with a body added to the bust, that the representation may be just, even with regard to size. They are dressed likewise in the habits that belong to the ranks which they severally filled when they were alive. If they were consuls or prætors, in a gown bordered with purple: if censors, in a purple robe: and if they triumphed, or obtained any similar honour, in a vest embroidered with gold. Thus apparelled, they are drawn along in chariots preceded by the rods and axes, and other ensigns of their former dignity. And when

they arrive at the forum, they are all seated upon chairs of ivory; and there exhibit the noblest object that can be offered to a youthful mind, warmed with the love of virtue and of glory. For who can behold without emotion the forms of so many illustrious men, thus living, as it were, and breathing together in his presence? Or what spectacle can be conceived more great and striking? The person also that is appointed to harangue, when he has exhausted all the praises of the deceased, turns his discourse to the rest, whose images are before him; and, beginning with the most ancient of them, recounts the fortunes and the exploits of every one in turn. By this method, which renews continually the remembrance of men celebrated for their virtue, the fame of every great and noble action becomes immortal; and the glory of those, by whose services their country has been benefited, is rendered familiar to the people, and delivered down to future times. But the chief advantage is, that by the hope of obtaining this honourable fame, which is reserved for virtue, the young men are animated to sustain all danger, in the cause of the common safety. For from hence it has happened, that many among the Romans have voluntarily engaged in single combat, in order to decide the fortune of an entire war. Many also have devoted themselves to inevitable death: some of them in battle, to save the lives of other citizens; and some in time of peace, to rescue the whole state from destruction. Others again, who have been invested with the highest dignities, have, in defiance of all law and custom, condemned their own sons to die; shewing greater regard to the advantage of their country, than to the bonds of nature, and the closest ties of kindred. Very frequent are the examples of this kind, that are recorded in the Roman story. I shall here mention one, as a signal instance, and proof of the truth of all that I have affirmed. Horatius, surnamed Cocles, being engaged in combat with two enemies, at the farthest extremity of the bridge that led into Rome across the Tiber,

and perceiving that many others were advancing fast to their assistance, was apprehensive that they would force their way together into the city. Turning himself therefore to his companions that were behind him, he called to them aloud, that they should immediately retire and break the bridge. While they were employed in this work, Horatius, though covered over with wounds, still maintained his post, and stopped the progress of the enemies; who were struck with his firmness and intrepid courage, even more than with the strength of his resistance. And when the bridge was broken, and the city secured from insult, he threw himself into the river with his armour, and there lost his life as he had designed: having preferred the safety of his country, and the future fame that was sure to follow such an action, to his own present existence, and to the time that remained for him to live. Such is the spirit, and such the emulation of achieving glorious actions, which the Roman institutions are fitted to infuse into the minds of youth.

In all things that regard the acquisition of wealth, the manners also, and the customs of the Romans, are greatly preferable to those of the Carthaginians. Among the latter, nothing is reputed infamous, that is joined with gain. But among the former, nothing is held more base than to be corrupted by gifts, or to covet an increase of wealth by means that are unjust. For as much as they esteem the possession of honest riches to be fair and honourable, so much, on the other hand, all those that are amassed by unlawful arts, are viewed by them with horror and reproach. The truth of this fact is clearly seen in the following instance. Among the Carthaginians, money is openly employed to obtain the dignities of the state: but all such proceeding is a capital crime in Rome. As the rewards, therefore, that are proposed to virtue in the two republics are so different, it cannot but happen, that the attention of the citizens to form their minds to virtuous actions must be also different.

But among all the useful institutions, that demonstrate the superior excellence of the Roman government, the most considerable perhaps is the opinion which the people are taught to hold concerning the gods: and that, which other men regard as an object of disgrace, appears in my judgment to be the very thing by which this republic chiefly is sustained. I mean, superstition: which is impressed with all its terrors; and influences both the private actions of the citizens, and the public administration also of the state, in a degree that can scarcely be exceeded. This may appear astonishing to many. To me it is evident, that this contrivance was at first adopted for the sake of the multitude. For if it were possible that a state could be composed of wise men only, there would be no need perhaps of any such invention. But as the people universally are fickle and inconstant, filled with irregular desires, precipitate in their passions, and prone to violence; there is no way left to restrain them, but by the dread of things unseen, and by the pageantry of terrifying fiction. The ancients therefore acted not absurdly, nor without good reason, when they inculcated the notions concerning the gods, and the belief of infernal punishments; but much more those of the present age are to be charged with rashness and absurdity, in endeavouring to extirpate these opinions. For, not to mention other effects that flow from such an institution; if, among the Greeks for example, a single talent only be entrusted to those who have the management of any of the public money; though they give ten written sureties, with as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, they are unable to discharge the trust reposed in them with integrity. But the Romans, on the other hand, who in the course of their magistracies, and in embassies, disburse the greatest sums, are prevailed on by the single obligation of an oath to perform their duty with inviolable honesty. And as, in other states, a man is rarely to be found whose hands are pure from

public robbery; so, among the Romans, it is no less rare to discover one that is tainted with this crime.

But all things are subject to decay and change. This is a truth so evident, and so demonstrated by the perpetual and the necessary course of nature, that it needs no other proof. Now there are two ways by which every kind of government is destroyed: either by some accident that happens from without, or some evil that arises within itself. What the first will be is not always easy to foresee: but the latter is certain and determinate. We have already shewn what are the original and what the secondary forms of government; and in what manner also they are reciprocally converted each into the other. Whoever, therefore, is able to connect the beginning with the end in this enquiry, will be able also to declare with some assurance what will be the future fortune of the Roman government. At least in my judgment nothing is more easy. For when a state, after having passed with safety through many and great dangers, arrives at the highest degree of power, and possesses an entire and undisputed sovereignty; it is manifest that the long continuance of prosperity must give birth to costly and luxurious manners, and that the minds of men will be heated with ambitious contests, and become too eager and aspiring in the pursuit of dignities. And as these evils are continually increased, the desire of power and rule, and the imagined ignominy of remaining in a subject state, will first begin to work the ruin of the republic; arrogance and luxury will afterwards advance it: and in the end the change will be completed by the people; when the avarice of some is found to injure and oppress them, and the ambition of others swells their vanity, and poisons them with flattering hopes. For then, being inflamed with rage, and following only the dictates of their passions, they no longer will submit to any control, or be contented with an equal share of the administration, in conjunction with their

rulers; but will draw to themselves the entire sovereignty and supreme direction of all affairs. When this is done, the government will assume indeed the fairest of all names, that of a free and popular state; but will in truth be the greatest of all evils, the government of the multitude.

As we have thus sufficiently explained the constitution and the growth of the Roman government; have marked the causes of that greatness in which it now subsists; and shewn by comparison, in what view it may be judged inferior, and in what superior, to other states; we shall here close this discourse. But as every skilful artist offers some piece of work to public view, as a proof of his abilities: in the same manner we also, taking some part of history that is connected with the times from which we were led into this digression, and making a short recital of one single action, shall endeavour to demonstrate by fact as well as words what was the strength, and how great the vigour, which at that time were displayed by this republic.

When Annibal, after the battle of Cannæ, had taken prisoners eight thousand of the Romans, who were left to guard the camp; he permitted them to send a deputation to Rome, to treat of their ransom and redemption. Ten persons, the most illustrious that were among them, were appointed for this purpose: and the general, having first commanded them to swear that they would return to him again, suffered them to depart. But one of the number, as soon as they had passed the intrenchment, having said that he had forgotten something, went back into the camp, took what he had left, and then continued his journey with the rest; persuading himself that by this return he had discharged his promise, and satisfied the obligation of the oath. When they arrived at Rome, they earnestly entreated the senate not to envy them the safety that was offered, but to suffer them to be restored again to their several families, at the price of three minæ for each prisoner, which was the sum that Annibal demanded; that

they were not unworthy of this favour; that they neither had through cowardice deserted their post in battle, nor done any thing that had brought dishonour upon the Roman name; but that having been left to guard the camp, they had been thrown by unavoidable necessity, after the destruction of all the rest of the army, into the power of the enemy. The Romans were at this time weakened by repeated losses; were deserted by almost every one of their allies; and seemed even to expect that Rome itself would instantly be attacked; yet when they had heard the deputies, they neither were deterred by adverse fortune from attending to what was fit and right, nor neglected any of those measures that were necessary to the public safety. But perceiving that the design of Annibal, in this proceeding, was both to acquire a large supply of money, and at the same time to check the ardour of his enemies in battle, by opening to their view the means of safety even though they should be conquered, they were so far from yielding to this request, they they shewed no regard either to the distressed condition of their fellow-citizens, or to the services that might be expected from the prisoners: but resolved to disappoint the hopes and frustrate the intentions of this general, by rejecting all terms of ransom. They made a law also, by which it was declared that the soldiers that were left must either conquer or must die: and that no other hope of safety was reserved for them, in case that they were conquered. After this determination they dismissed the nine deputies, who on account of their oath were willing to return, and taking the other, who had endeavoured to elude by sophistry what he had sworn, they sent him back bound to the enemy; so that Annibal was much less filled with joy from having vanquished the Romans in the field, than he was struck with terror and astonishment at the firmness and magnanimity that appeared in their deliberations.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Leontium in Sicily described.

THE city Leontium, considered in its general position, is turned towards the north. Through the middle of it runs a level valley, which contains the public buildings allotted to the administration of government and of justice: and, in a word, the whole that is called the forum. The two sides of the valley are inclosed by two hills, which are rough and broken along the whole extent. But the summit of these hills, above the brows, is flat and plain, and is covered with temples and with houses. There are two gates to the city. One of them is in the southern extremity of the valley, and conducts to Syracuse. The other is on the opposite side, and leads to those lands so famed for their fertility, and which are called the Leontine fields. Below the hill that stands on the western side of the valley flows the river Lissus: and on the same side, likewise, there is a row of houses, built under the very precipice, and in a line parallel to the river. Between these houses and the river lies the road which has been mentioned.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The treaty that was concluded between Annibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, ambassador from Philip.

THE solemn treaty which Annibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, and all the senators of Carthage that were with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have concluded with Xenophanes, the son of Cleomachus, the ambassador deputed by king Philip, the son of Demetrius, in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians and their allies.

In the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the deity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the gods who are with us in the camp, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the lakes, and the waters; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the state of Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the Macedonian empire, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods who direct the affairs of war, and who are present at this treaty; Annibal the general, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have said.

With the consent of you and of us, this treaty of amity and concord shall connect us together, as friends, as kindred, and as brothers, upon the following conditions:

King Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them, shall protect the lords of Carthage; Annibal the general, and those that are with him; the governors in every place in which the laws of Carthage are observed; the people of Utica,

and all the cities and nations that are subject to the Carthaginian sway, together with their armies and their allies; the cities likewise, and all the people with whom we are allied, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Liguria; and all those that shall hereafter enter into an alliance with us in those countries. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, the people of Utica, and all other cities and states that are subject to the Carthaginians, with their allies and armies; the cities also, and all the people of Italy, of Gaul, and of Liguria, that are at this time in alliance with us; and all others likewise that shall hereafter be received into our alliance in any of those parts of Italy; shall protect and defend king Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them. We will not engage in any ill designs, or employ any kind of treachery, the one against the other. But with all alacrity and willingness, without any deceit or fraud, you, the Macedonians, shall declare yourselves the enemies of those that are enemies of the Carthaginians; those kings alone excepted, and those ports and cities, with which you are connected by any treaty. And we also, on the other hand, will be the enemies of those that are enemies of king Philip; those kings and cities, and nations alone excepted, to which we are already bound by treaty. You shall be partners also with us in the war, in which we are now engaged against the Romans; till the gods give to you and to us a happy termination of it. You shall supply us with the assistance that is requisite, and in the manner that shall be stipulated between us. And if the gods, refusing success to our endeavours in the war against the Romans and their allies, should dispose us to enter into treaty with them; we shall insist, that you also be included in the treaty, and that the peace be made upon these expressed conditions: that the Romans shall at no time make war against you: that they shall not remain masters of the Corcyreans, nor of the people of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, and Dimalus; nor of the Parthinians, and the

Atintanians: and that they shall restore also to Demetrius of Pharos all the persons of his kindred, who are now detained in public custody at Rome. If the Romans shall afterwards make war either against you or us, we will mutually send such assistance as shall be requisite to either party. The same thing also will we perform, if any other power shall declare war against us; those kings, and cities, and states alone excepted, with which we are allied by treaty. If at any time it should be judged expedient to add to the present treaty, or to detract from it, it shall be done with mutual consent.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

Demetrius of Pharos advises Philip to place a garrison in Ithome. The different sentiments of Aratus.

WHEN the entrails of the victims that have been sacrificed were brought, as the custom was, to Philip, he took them in his hands, and inclining to one side, and shewing them to Aratus, asked him, what he thought was signified by them: that he should relinquish the citadel, or that he should keep possession of it? In the very instant, Demetrius seized the occasion to reply. "If you have the soul of a diviner in you," said he, "you will relinquish it without delay. But if you have the spirit of a king who understands affairs, you will keep possession of it: that you may not, if the present opportunity be lost, wish in vain hereafter to obtain another. For, it is only by holding both the horns, that you can hope to keep the bull in subjection to you." By the horns he designed to signify the two fortresses of Ithome and Acrocorinthus; and Peloponnesus by the bull. But Philip, turning to Aratus, said, "And is this also your advice?" And when the other hesitated, he pressed him to declare his sentiments. Aratus, then, after a short silence, made this reply. "If you can retain possession of this citadel, without breaking that

faith by which you are bound to the Messenians, keep it. But if, by leaving a garrison in this place, you relinquish that which stands in the stead of all citadels and garrisons, that which Antigonus transmitted to you, and which has hitherto preserved your allies; I mean good faith; consider whether it will not now be better to draw away your forces from Ithome, and, leaving there your faith, secure to yourself by that garrison alone the fidelity of the Messenians, and of all the rest of the allies." Philip, if he had followed his own natural inclination, would have been ready enough to have violated his faith: as we may judge from the subsequent actions of his life. But as he had been sharply reproved not long before by the younger Aratus, for having ordered some citizens to be put to death; and as the elder Aratus at this time addressed him with great authority as well as freedom; and besought him not to disregard the advice that he had offered; he was prevailed on to desist; and taking Aratus by the hand, "Let us return then," said he, "by the way by which we came."

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

Antiochus renders himself master of Sardes, by the contrivance of Lagoras of Crete.

ROUND the city of Sardes sharp skirmishes passed continually; and little battles both by night and by day, without any intermission. For every method of surprise, and every art, both of attack and of defence, were practised by both parties. To enter into a particular description of all that was transacted, would be both useless and altogether tedious. But when the siege had now continued to the second year, it was at last ended by the contrivance of Lagoras, a Cretan. This man, who had gained a long experience in the affairs of war, had remarked, that the strongest places very frequently become

the easiest prey, through the too great security of the inhabitants; who repose such confidence either on the natural strength of their cities, or on the works by which they are covered, that they are altogether remiss and negligent in guarding them. He knew, likewise, that places are often taken by assault in the very parts that are the strongest, and against which it was most improbable that an enemy would make any attempt. Agreeably to these sentiments, having now considered that the strength of Sardes was such that all men had despaired of being able to take it by assault, and hoped only that it might be at last subdued by famine; he was the more encouraged by this very reason to make the attempt; and turned his thoughts on every side, in order to find some fair occasion of rendering himself master of the place. And having remarked that the wall which connected the citadel with the city was not guarded, he conceived the hope that in that very part he should be able to accomplish his design. That this part was destitute of guards, he thus discovered. The wall was built upon a very lofty rock; and at the bottom of the precipice was a hollow valley, into which the carcases of the horses and beasts of burden were thrown, that died within the city. In this valley large flocks of vultures, and other birds of prey, were continually assembled. And as the birds, when they were satiated with food, constantly reposed themselves upon the top of the precipice, and upon the wall, Lagoras concluded from this circumstance that the wall was certainly not guarded, but was at almost all times destitute of people. When he had formed this conjecture he went himself by night, and carefully examined in what part he might make his approaches, and fix the ladders. And having found, on the side of one of the rocks, a place that was proper for the purpose, he then communicated his project to the king. Antiochus conceived great hopes, and entreated him to accomplish the design. Lagoras on his part promised to employ his utmost power; but desired that Theodotus the

Ætolian, and Dionysius, the captain of the guards, each of whom possessed all the strength and courage which an enterprise of this kind required, might be associated with him in the undertaking, and commanded to assist in the execution of it. To this the king immediately consented; and these three together, having regulated their plan in secret, waited for a night, in the latter part of which there would be no moon. When such a night was come, on the evening before the day in which the attempt was to be made, they chose from the whole army fifteen men, the most distinguished by their strength and courage, to carry the ladders, and to share with themselves the danger of mounting the walls. After these they took thirty more, who were directed to lie in ambuscade at a certain distance; and, when the first should have scaled the walls, and descended to the gate that was near, to advance from their concealment, and to cut through the bars and hinges of the gate from without, while the rest broke the locks and the bolts on the inside. Behind these followed another body of two thousand men; who were ordered to enter the city with the rest, and to take possession of the circus of the theatre, which commanded both the citadel and the city. And that no suspicion of the truth might arise from making these detachments, a report was spread that a body of Ætolians designed to throw themselves through the valley before mentioned into the city; and that, as notice had been received of their design, these forces were prepared to oppose their entrance.

When all things were now ready, as soon as the moon had withdrawn her light, Lagoras and the rest approached the precipices with their ladders, and concealed themselves under the brow of the rock that hung over the valley. When day appeared, and the guards on this side had retired; while the king, according to his custom, sent one part of his troops to their respective posts, and drew out the rest in order of battle in the Hippodrome, the attempt remained for some time unnoticed. But no sooner were

two ladders raised, upon one of which Dionysius first mounted, and Lagoras upon the other, than a great commotion and disorder was spread through all the camp. For though neither the garrison in the city, nor Achæus himself, who was in the citadel, discerned the men that were attempting to scale the walls, because they were covered by the brow of the rock; those that were in the camp very clearly saw the whole of this bold and dangerous action. And while some were struck with admiration at an attempt that appeared incredible; and others foresaw, but were doubtful of the consequence: they stood fixed in suspense, and with an anxiety mingled with joy, expected the event. The king, perceiving this commotion, and being willing to draw aside the attention both of his own troops and of the besieged from what was done, led out the army, and advanced towards the gate that was on the opposite side of the city, and was called the gate of Persis. Achæus, perceiving from the citadel this motion of the enemy, so different from any which they had before been used to make, was thrown into great perplexity, and knew not what was their design. He sent some forces, however, towards the gate. But as the road by which they descended from the citadel was narrow, and full of precipices, they arrived too late. Aribazus also, who commanded in the city, and who suspected nothing of the real truth, led the garrison to the same gate, likewise, which Antiochus threatened to attack. And having stationed one part of his forces on the walls, he ordered the rest to advance, while one part killed all those that they met through the gate, to stop the enemy as they approached, and to engage them in battle. In the mean time, Lagoras, Dionysius, and Theodotus, having gained the summit of the rock, and descended from thence to the gate that was below, dispersed those that they met, and began to break the gate. The thirty also on the outside at the same time advanced, and assisted in breaking it. And when the gate was in this manner soon forced open,

the two thousand men that had stood ready for that purpose entered and took possession of the circus. As soon as this was perceived, the forces that had been stationed upon the walls, and those that were sent through the gate of Persis, by Aribazus, returned back again in haste, to attack those that had entered the city. But, as the gate was opened for their return, some of the troops of Antiochus entered together with them: and having thus made themselves masters of this gate likewise, they then ran to break the rest of the gates that were near. Aribazus and all the garrison, after a short engagement with those that were already within the city, fled hastily into the citadel. Theodotus and Lagoras, remaining still in their first station, with great prudence attended to all that passed. The rest of the army, entering now on every side, were soon masters of the place. And others set fire to the houses, or dispersed themselves in search of plunder, till the whole city was pillaged and destroyed. In this manner Antiochus became master of Sardes.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Men who trust themselves to others are to be censured or excused, according to different circumstances. Examples of both cases.

WHEN accidents of this kind happen, it would be dangerous to decide in general, that those who are betrayed into such misfortunes deserve to be blamed; or, on the contrary, that they deserve to be excused. For it frequently is seen, that, when men have employed all the caution that reason could suggest, they still fall into the power of those who scruple not to violate the established laws of mankind. But if we attend, on the other hand, to the particular times and circumstances of such events, it is certain, that by these we may be enabled to judge without reserve; and to declare some generals, among those who have been thus deceived, to be worthy of censure, and others to be free from blame. The following examples will shew the truth of this remark.

Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, suspecting the ambition of Cleomenes, fled from Sparta. But being afterwards prevailed on to return, and put himself into the power of his enemy, he lost both his kingdom and his life, and left not the least excuse for his imprudence to future times. For while the condition of things remained the same, and the ambition of Cleomenes had even acquired new strength, how was it possible that he should avoid this fate, if he threw himself again into the hands of those, from whom he had escaped by flight, and with the

greatest difficulty? Pelopidas also of Thebes, who was well acquainted with the wicked disposition of the tyrant Alexander, and who knew likewise, that every tyrant considers those who defend the cause of liberty as his greatest enemies, when he not only had prevailed on Epaminondas to take arms in support of the democratical government of Thebes, and of all Greece, but had himself led an army into Thessaly, in order to subvert the monarchy of Alexander, ventured to go on a second embassy to this very tyrant. By this imprudence, having most absurdly reposed a confidence in those whom he had the greatest reason to distrust, he brought great loss upon his country, and destroyed the reputation also which he had before acquired. A like misfortune happened to the Roman consul, Cnæus Cornelius, who, in opposition to all reason, delivered himself to the enemy, in the time of the war of Sicily. Many other examples also might be found of the same imprudence. And from these it may fairly be concluded, that whoever, without due consideration and enquiry, throw themselves into the power of their enemies, are very greatly to be blamed.

On the other hand, when men have before employed every necessary kind of caution, they cannot be thought to deserve any censure. Never to place a confidence in any one is absolutely impracticable. It is sufficient if we take some proper pledges for our security, and act afterwards as reason shall require. The best pledges of safety, upon such occasions, are oaths; wives and children given as hostages; and, above all, the former life of the persons whom we are inclined to trust. If these are employed to betray and ruin us, the reproach must fall upon the authors of the treachery, and not upon those who are deceived. The first step therefore should be, to gain assurances of such a kind, that those with whom we treat may be compelled by them to observe their faith. But as these are not always to be obtained, the next course is, to take every measure with such prudence, that, if we fall

afterwards into misfortunes, it may not be imputed to us as a fault. Many examples of this sort might be drawn from former ages. But there is none more illustrious than that which is found in the very times of which we are writing, the example of Achæus. For this prince, after he had employed the most perfect foresight that human wisdom could suggest, and neglected no precaution that was necessary for his safety, fell into the power of his enemies. But so far was he from incurring any blame, that, on the contrary, his misfortune was pitied and excused; while the authors of it were condemned to bear the curses and the detestation of mankind.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

Reflections on the greatness of the designs of Rome and Carthage, and the persevering obstinacy of the two republics. The advantages of general history.

IT will by no means be foreign to my first design, or to the general intention of this work, to desire the reader to pause a while, and to consider the greatness of the actions of the Carthaginians and the Romans, and the stubborn constancy with which they severally persisted in their enterprises. For is it not astonishing, that, when they were engaged in so great a war in Italy, and in another not less important also in Spain, when the prospect of success in these two wars was to both equally uncertain, and the present danger alike terrible to both, as if these were not sufficient, they at this very time should maintain another, both in Sardinia and in Italy, and not only should extend their views at once to all these wars, but should be able also to complete the preparations, and furnish the supplies that were necessary to all? But our admiration must still increase, if we take a view of things in a more particular detail. The Romans had in Italy two complete armies, under the command of the two consuls. In Spain they had

two more: one upon land, at the head of which was Cnæus Cornelius; and another upon the sea, commanded by Publius. On the side of the Carthaginians likewise, the armies were the same. Beside these, the Romans had also a fleet, that was stationed on the coasts of Greece, to observe the motions of king Philip. At the same time, Appius, with a hundred quinqueremes, and Marcus Claudius, at the head of a land army, supported the war in Sicily; while Amilcar did the same on the side of the Carthaginians.

From these facts very clearly will appear the truth of that which we have often taken occasion to affirm in the former parts of this work: that it is not possible to obtain an entire view and knowledge of the whole of things from particular histories. For how can the bare reading of what passed in Sicily only, or in Spain, be sufficient to instruct us, either in the greatness of the things that were transacted, or more especially, in what manner, and through what kind of government, that most astonishing event was perfected, which has happened in the present age, and of which there is no example in former times; that all the known parts of the earth have been reduced beneath the power of a single state. In what manner Syracuse was taken by the Romans, and by what measures they gained possession of Spain, may be known perhaps, in some degree, from particular histories. But general history alone can shew, by what steps they arrived at the sovereignty of the whole; what circumstances counteracted them in their pursuit of that great design; and what again, at certain times, co-operated with them. There is, therefore, no other way by which we may be enabled to discern, either the greatness of the transactions themselves, or the force of the Roman government. For when we read, that the Romans attempted the conquest of Sicily only, or of Spain, and maintained vast armies both upon land and sea; such projects, considered singly in themselves, contain nothing very great or wonderful. But when it is seen,

that not these enterprises only, but many others likewise, were at the same time formed and executed by the same republic; and that this very people, even while they carried into execution these designs, were involved in various difficulties, and sustained many dreadful battles, in their own proper country; it is then only that these transactions will appear in their just light; that our admiration will indeed be raised; and that we shall obtain a full conception of all that we desire to know. Let this, then, serve to shew the mistake of those, who think that separate and particular relations will instruct them in the knowledge of general and universal history.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

The siege of Syracuse. The Romans are forced to desist from their attempt, by the wonderful inventions of Archimedes.

THE consul Appius, having taken upon himself the command of the land forces, and stationed the army round the Scythian portico, from whence the wall was continued along the shore even to the mole of the harbour, resolved to make his approaches on that side. As the number of his artificers was very great, he prepared, in five days only, a sufficient quantity of blinds and darts, with every thing besides that was proper for the siege: and was persuaded, that by this celerity he should be able to attack the enemy before they had made the necessary preparations for their defence. He had not at this time made due reflection upon the great skill of Archimedes; nor considered, that the mind of a single man is, on some occasions, far superior to the force of many hands. But this truth was soon discovered to him by the event. For as Syracuse was in itself a place of very great strength; the wall that surrounded it being built upon lofty hills, whose tops hang-

ing over the plain, rendered all approach from without, except in certain parts, extremely difficult; so, within the city likewise, and against all attempts that might be made on the side of the sea, so great a quantity of instruments of defence had been contrived by the person just now mentioned, that the besieged were at no time idle; but were ready, at every new attack, to meet the motions, and repel the efforts, of the enemy. Appius, however, advancing with his blinds and ladders, endeavoured to approach that part of the wall which was joined to the Hexapylum, on the eastern side of the city. At the same time, Marcellus directed his course towards Achradina, with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes, all filled with soldiers, who were armed with bows, slings, and javelins, in order to drive the enemy from the walls. There were also eight other quinqueremes, from one side of which the benches of the rowers had been removed; from the right side of some, and from the left of others. These vessels, being joined two and two together, on the sides from which the benches had been taken, were rowed by the oars on the opposite side, and carried to the walls certain machines called sackbuts, the construction and use of which may be thus described.

A ladder is made, which has four feet in breadth, and such a length as may make it equal, when raised, to the height of the walls. On either side of it is a high breastwork, in the form of a balustrade. This ladder is laid at length, upon the sides in which the two vessels are joined, but extending far beyond the prows; and at the top of the masts of the vessels are fixed pulleys and ropes. At the proper time, the ropes are fastened to the top of the machine. And while some, standing on the stern of the vessels, draw the ladder upwards by the pulleys, others on the prow at the same time assist in raising it with bars and levers. The vessels being then rowed near to the shore, endeavours are used to fix the machine against the walls. At the top of the ladder is a little stage, guarded on three sides with blinds, and containing four men upon it, who

engage with those upon the walls that endeavour to obstruct the fixing of the machine. And when it is fixed, these men, being now raised above the top of the wall, throw down the blinds on either side, and advance to attack the battlements and towers. The rest at the same time ascend the ladder, without any fear that it should fail; because it is strongly fastened with ropes to the two vessels. The name of sackbut is bestowed not improperly upon this machine. For when it is raised, the appearance of the ladder and the vessels, joined thus together, very much resembles the figure of that instrument.

In this manner then, when all things now were ready, the Romans designed to attack the towers. But Archimedes had prepared machines that were fitted to every distance. And while the vessels were yet far removed from the walls employing catapults and balistæ, that were of the largest size, and worked by the strongest springs, he wounded the enemy with his darts and stones, and threw them into great disorder. When the darts passed beyond them, he then used other machines, of a smaller size, and still proportioned to the distance. By these means the Romans were so effectually repulsed, that it was not possible for them to approach. Marcellus therefore, perplexed with this resistance, was forced to advance silently with his vessels in the night. But when they came so near to the land as to be within the reach of darts, they were exposed to new danger from another invention, which Archimedes had contrived. He had caused openings to be made in many parts of the wall, equal in height to the stature of a man, and to the palm of a hand in breadth. And having planted on the inside archers, and little scorpions, he discharged a multitude of arrows through the openings, and disabled the soldiers that were on board. In this manner, whether the Romans were at a great distance, or whether they were near, he not only rendered useless all their efforts, but destroyed also many of their men. When they attempted also to raise the sackbuts,

certain machines which he had raised along the whole wall on the inside, and which were before concealed from view, suddenly appeared above the walls, and stretched their long beaks far beyond the battlements. Some of these machines carried masses of lead, and stones not less than ten talents in weight. And when the vessels with the sackbuts came near, the beaks, being first turned by ropes and pulleys to the proper point, let fall their stones; which broke not only the sackbuts, but the vessels likewise, and threw all those that were on board into the greatest danger. In the same manner also, the rest of the machines, as often as the enemy approached under the cover of their blinds, and had secured themselves by that precaution against the darts that were discharged through the openings of the wall, let fall upon them stones of so large a size, that all the combatants upon the prow were forced to retire from their station.

He invented likewise a hand of iron, hanging by a chain from the beak of a machine, which was used in the following manner. The person, who like a pilot guided the beak, having let fall the hand, and catched hold of the prow of any vessel, drew down the opposite end of the machine that was on the inside of the walls. And when the vessel was thus raised erect upon its stern, the machine itself was held immoveable; but the chain being suddenly loosened from the beak by the means of pulleys, some of the vessels were thrown upon their sides; others turned with the bottom upwards; and the greatest part, as the prows were plunged from a considerable height into the sea, were filled with water, and all that were on board thrown into tumult and disorder.

Marcellus was in no small degree embarrassed when he found himself encountered in every attempt by such resistance. He perceived that all his efforts were defeated with loss; and were even derided by the enemy. But, amidst all the anxiety that he suffered, he could not help jesting upon the inventions of Archimedes. This man,

said he, employs our ships as buckets to draw water; and boxing about our sackbuts, as if they were unworthy to be associated with him, drives them from his company with disgrace. Such was the success of the siege on the side of the sea.

Appius also, on his part, having met with the same obstacles in his approaches, was in like manner forced to abandon his design. For while he was yet at a considerable distance, great numbers of his army were destroyed by the balistæ and the catapults. So wonderful was the quantity of stones and darts, and so astonishing the force with which they were thrown. The machines indeed were worthy of Hiero, who had furnished the expence; and of Archimedes, who designed them, and by whose directions they were made. If the troops advanced nearer to the city, they either were stopped in their approach by the arrows that were discharged through the openings in the walls; or, if they attempted to force their way under the cover of their bucklers, were destroyed by stones and beams that were let fall upon their heads. Great mischief also was occasioned by those hands of iron that have been mentioned; which lifted men with their armour into the air, and dashed them against the ground. Appius, therefore, was at last constrained to return back again to his camp. And when he had held a consultation with the tribunes, it was with one consent determined by them, that every other method should be tried to obtain possession of Syracuse, but that they would no more attempt to take it by assault. Nor did they afterwards depart from this resolution. For though they remained eight months before the city, and during that time invented various stratagems, and carried into execution many bold designs, they never had the courage to attack the place in the regular forms. So wonderful, and of such importance upon some occasions, is the power of a single man, and the force of science properly employed. With so great armies both by land and sea, the Romans could scarcely have failed to take the

city if one old man had been removed. But while he is present they dare not even to make the attempt, in the manner at least which Archimedes was able to oppose. Being persuaded therefore, that, as the city was crowded with inhabitants, it might at last most easily be reduced by famine, they resolved to have recourse to this as their only hope; and to intercept by their fleet the provisions that should be brought by sea, while the army cut off all approach on the side of the land. And that the time employed in the siege might not pass wholly without action, but be attended with advantage in some other place, the consuls divided the army. And while Appius, with two parts of the forces, invested the city, Marcellus with the rest, advancing through the country, wasted the lands of Sicilians who had joined the Carthaginians in the war.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

The death of Aratus, who was poisoned by the order of Philip.

THOUGH Philip attempted to waste the territory of the Messenians, who were now his enemies, the mischief which he occasioned to them was very inconsiderable. But the same prince found better success in carrying into execution the impious designs which he had contrived against the nearest of his friends. For not long afterwards Aratus was poisoned by his orders, with the assistance of Taurion, who presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus. This infamous action was not for some time discovered to the world. For the poison was not of that kind which procures immediate death; but was one of those which weaken the habit of the body, and destroy life by slow degrees. Aratus himself was very sensible of the injury that he had received: and the manner in which the thing was made known was this. The old man, who had

kept it secret from every one besides, could not restrain himself from letting fall some words in the presence of a favourite servant, whose name was Cephalo. For when this domestic, who attended him with great fidelity during the course of his illness, had one day desired his master to remark, that some of the spittle that hung upon the wall was mingled with blood: "Such, Cephalo," said Aratus, "is the reward of the friendship which I have had for Philip." So great and excellent a thing is moderation: which disposed the sufferer, and not the author of the injury, to feel the greatest shame; when he found that all the glorious actions which he had shared with Philip, in order to promote the service of that prince, had been at last so basely recompensed.

Such was the end of this magistrate; who received after his death, not from his own country alone, but from the whole republic of the Achæans, all the honours that were due to a man, who had so often held the administration of their government, and performed such signal services for the state. For they decreed sacrifices to him, with the other honours that belong to heroes; and, in a word, omitting nothing that could serve to render his name immortal. If the dead therefore retain any sense, it is probable that Aratus must now contemplate with a pleasing satisfaction not only the gratitude of the Achæans, but all the difficulties also and the dangers, which himself encountered in his life.

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

The manner in which Philip took the citadel of Lissus, and the city.

PHILIP had for a a long time before revolved in his mind the design of rendering himself master of the city of Lissus and the citadel. Beginning his march, therefore, with the army, and having after two days passed the

defiles, he encamped upon the banks of the river Ardaxanus, at no great distance from the city. But when he saw that the whole circuit of the city, both on the side of the land, and on that also towards the sea, was strongly fortified both by nature and by art; and that the citadel, which stood near, was of so great height and strength that it was scarcely possible that it ever should be taken by assault; he laid aside all hopes of being able to reduce the last, but judged the conquest of the city to be not absolutely impracticable. Between Lissus and the foot of the mountain upon which the citadel was built there was an open space, which seemed very proper for his intended attack upon the city. The king, therefore, after some slight skirmishing with the enemy upon this ground, contrived the following stratagem. Having allowed the army to repose themselves during one whole day, and encouraged them as the occasion required, he sent away in the night the greatest and most serviceable part of the light-armed troops, with orders that they should conceal themselves in certain valleys covered with wood, which were on the side of the country, at a little distance from the open space that has been mentioned. On the following day, taking with him the peltastæ, and the remaining part of the light-armed forces, and beginning his march on the side towards the sea, he advanced round the city to the ground upon which he before had skirmished, as if his intention had been to make an attack from thence upon the place. The city was filled with people, who had thrown themselves into it from all the neighbouring parts of Illyria, upon the first arrival of Philip in the country. But the citadel, because it seemed sufficiently secured by its own natural strength, was defended by a very small garrison. As soon then as the Macedonians approached, the enemy, confident in their numbers as well as in the advantage of the ground, came out in crowds against them from the city. Philip, having stationed the peltastæ in the plain, commanded the light-armed forces to advance

towards the heights, and to engage with vigour. At first the contest was on both sides equal. But after some time, these troops being pressed by numbers, and disordered by the difficulties of the ground, were forced to turn their backs, and retired towards the heavy forces. The besieged pursue with eagerness, and attack the heavy forces in the plain. At the same time, the troops that were in the citadel, perceiving that Philip drew away his army in small divisions, and that some of the cohorts alone sustained the fight, while others seemed to retreat, were persuaded that he was preparing altogether to leave the field. Leaving therefore their post by stealth, as if the situation of the place was alone sufficient to defend it, they descended in small bodies, and through private roads, into the plain, expecting to obtain some share in the plunder of those that fled. In this moment, the troops that had been placed in ambuscade in the valleys advanced unperceived, and attacked the enemy with vigour. At the same time likewise, the heavy forces returned back again to the charge. The Illyrians were soon thrown into disorder. Those that had advanced from Lissus fled back again by different ways, and saved themselves within the city. But the garrison of the citadel was intercepted by the forces that had risen from the ambuscade. Thus the event happened which was the least expected: and Philip gained possession of the citadel without any danger. On the following day, after many violent and terrible attacks, the city also was taken by the Macedonians. This sudden and unexpected conquest struck so great terror into all the neighbouring parts, that almost all the cities of Illyria submitted themselves voluntarily to the king. For when he had taken two places of such uncommon strength by assault, it seemed that there would be now no fortress able to withstand his efforts, nor any hope of safety for those that should resist his arms.

EXTRACT THE SIXTH.

Achæus, who was besieged in the citadel of Sardes by Antiochus, is delivered into the power of his enemies by the treachery of Bolis.

THERE was a man whose name was Bolis, a Cretan by birth, who had long lived in the court of Ptolemy, and held a military command. He had the reputation of possessing, together with a good understanding, a most enterprising courage; and was supposed to be inferior to none in the experience which he had gained in the affairs of war. Sosibius, having endeavoured in many conferences to obtain the confidence of this man, and to render him devoted to his interests, at last disclosed to him, that he could not at this time perform any service more acceptable to the king, than by contriving some method to save Achæus. Bolis, when he had heard him, said that he would consider what he had proposed, and then retired. And when he had examined the thing by himself, after two or three days he returned, and told Sosibius that he would undertake the business: that he had passed some time in Sardes, and was well acquainted with the place; and that Cambylus, who commanded a body of Cretans in the army of Antiochus, was not only his fellow-citizen, but his kinsman also, and his friend. Now Cambylus was stationed in one of the advanced posts that were behind the citadel of Sardes. For the ground on that side not being fortified with works, was defended only by a line of Cretans. Sosibius received this account with joy; and was persuaded either that Achæus was not to be rescued from his present danger, or that Bolis alone could save him. And as the latter shewed on his part also the greatest eagerness, the affair was soon determined. Some money was immediately furnished by Sosibius, that nothing might be wanting that was necessary to the design. He gave him an assurance likewise of much larger sums, if

the attempt should be attended with success. And, by exaggerating also in the amplest manner the rewards that might be expected both from Ptolemy and from Achæus, he raised the hopes of Bolis to the greatest height.

The Cretan, impatient to begin the work, furnished himself with the proper instruments of credit, and sailed away immediately to Rhodes, to find Nicomachus; whose affection for Achæus, and his fidelity towards him, were like those of a father towards a son. From thence he went to Ephesus, and joined Melancomas. For these were the persons whom Achæus had long employed, to transact his affairs abroad both with Ptolemy and all other states. Bolis, therefore, arriving first at Rhodes, and afterwards at Ephesus, communicated to these men the whole design. And finding them ready to lend all the assistance that he desired, he then sent Arianus, one of his own officers, to Çambylus, with orders to acquaint him, that Bolis had been sent from Alexandria to raise some foreign mercenaries; but that having some business of great importance to communicate to Cambylus, he desired that this general would appoint a certain place and time, in which they might meet together without the knowledge of any other person. Arianus soon discharged his commission, and was sent back again by Cambylus; who consented to all that was proposed, and fixed the hour and the place in which he would meet Bolis in the night.

In the mean time Bolis, who was a true Cretan, versatile in his nature, carefully examined the thing in all its circumstances, and considered it on every side. At last however he joined Cambylus at the appointed place, and delivered a letter to him. Upon this letter, they immediately held a consultation that was worthy of two Cretans. For the object of their deliberation neither was the safety of the unhappy prince, nor the fidelity which they owed to those who had employed them; but their own security alone, and their own advantage. With these base views, it was not long before they concurred in the same opinion:

that they would first divide between themselves the ten talents that had been given by Sosibius, and afterwards disclose the whole matter to Antiochus: and that, when they had obtained some present money from the king, together with an assurance also of such future rewards as might be suitable to so great a service, they would engage, with his assistance, to deliver Achæus into his hands. When they had thus determined, Cambylus took upon himself the part of communicating the business to Antiochus. Bolis on the other hand engaged, that after some days he would send Arianus to Achæus, with letters from Nicomachus and Melancomas. But he left it to the care of Cambylus to take such measures, that this officer might enter the citadel, and return back again with safety. At the same time it was concerted, that, if Achæus should fall into the snare, and send back an answer to the letters, Bolis should then join Cambylus, and assist in the execution of the design.

When they had in this manner regulated all their plan, they separated; and each prepared himself to perform the part which he had undertaken. Cambylus took the first occasion that was offered, and disclosed the project to the king. Antiochus, surprised by an assurance so unexpected and so pleasing, was agitated by different passions. In one moment, transported with joy, he promised every thing that was required of him. In the next, being diffident of the success, he demanded an account of every part and circumstance of the design, and of the measures that were taken for carrying it into execution. At last, giving full credit to the whole, and being persuaded that the thing had happened by the special favour of the gods, he pressed Cambylus with repeated earnestness to accomplish what he had begun. At the same time Bolis addressed himself in such a manner to Nicomachus and Melancomas, that they entertained not the least suspicion with respect to his sincerity. They gave letters therefore to Arianus, to be delivered to Achæus; and advised this prince to

place an entire confidence in Bolis and Cambylus. The letters were written in a certain cipher, which they had always used; and were so composed, that, if they had fallen into any other hands, the contents would have remained unknown.

Arianus, having introduced himself into the citadel with the assistance of Cambylus, delivered the letters to Achæus; and, as he had been employed in the affair from the beginning, gave also a distinct and accurate account of all that had been done. Being closely examined concerning various matters, respecting Bolis and Sosibius, Nicomachus and Melancomas, and most especially Cambylus, he answered every question without any hesitation, and with an air of the most genuine truth. And this he was the better enabled to do, because he was a stranger to the secret consultations that had passed between Bolis and Cambylus. Achæus being satisfied with his answers, but chiefly because he gave credit to what was written by Nicomachus and Melancomas, sent back Arianus with an answer to the letters. And when the same thing had been many times repeated, he at last resolved to embrace the measure which his friends advised: the rather indeed, because he had now no other hopes of safety. He desired therefore, that Bolis and Arianus might be sent to him, in a night in which there would be no moon: and said that he would deliver himself into their hands. His intention was, first to remove himself from the present danger; and, immediately after his escape, to take the route of Syria. For he had reason to be persuaded, that his sudden and unexpected appearance among the Syrians, while Antiochus still remained before the citadel of Sardes, would occasion some commotion in the country; and be received with the greatest joy by the people of Antiochia, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnice. Animated by these flattering hopes, he now expected, with impatience, the time in which Bolis should arrive.

As soon as Melancomas had received these letters, he

urged Bolis to depart; having first recommended the business to him again in the most pressing words, and given him an assurance of great rewards, if the design should be attended with success. Bolis, having dispatched Arianus to Cambylus with notice of his coming, met the latter in the night at an appointed place. They passed a whole day together in adjusting all the parts of their design; and then entered the camp by night. The manner in which they regulated their plan was this. If Achæus should leave the citadel alone, or with only one companion, together with Bolis and Arianus, it was certain that no resistance could be expected from him; and that it would be an easy thing for those to whom he had entrusted himself to seize his person. But in case that he should be attended with a greater number, it would then be a matter of some difficulty: especially because the intention was, to take him alive if it was possible, in order the more to gratify Antiochus. Upon this account it was determined, that, in bringing Achæus from the citadel, Arianus should go the first, as being acquainted with the track by which he had often passed and returned: and that Bolis should follow behind the rest: that, as soon as they should arrive at a certain place, where Cambylus had engaged to conceal some men in ambuscade, he might then seize Achæus, and hold him fast; lest, in the tumult and the darkness of the night, he should either save himself by flight into the adjoining woods, or throw himself in despair from the top of some precipice, and not fall alive, as they had designed, into the power of his enemies.

When all things were thus concerted, Cambylus, unattended by any person, conducted Bolis in the same night to Antiochus, who also was alone. The king received him with great marks of favour; confirmed the promises which he had made; and earnestly entreated both of them to carry the project into execution without delay. They then returned back again to their own part of the camp: and

when the morning approached, Bolis and Arianus went towards the citadel, and entered it before it was yet day.

Achæus received Bolis with eager transports of affection; and asked many questions concerning every circumstance and part of the design. And as he judged, both from his appearance and discourse, that he was equal to the weight of such an enterprise, he was filled with joy, from the prospect of so near a safety. But this joy again was mingled with no small anxiety and doubt, when he looked forwards to the greatness of the consequences. In this uncertainty, as he had joined to an excellent understanding a long experience also in affairs, he resolved not to repose an entire confidence in the integrity of Bolis. He told him, therefore, that it was not possible for him at this time to follow him; but that he would send with him three or four of his friends; and, when these should have joined Melancomas, he would then be ready himself to leave the citadel. Thus Achæus did all that was possible to be done: but considered not that he was practising the arts of a Cretan against a Cretan. For Bolis had attentively examined every circumstance that could arise in the course of such an undertaking.

When the night was come in which Achæus had promised to send out his friends, he ordered Bolis and Arianus to wait at the gate of the citadel till they should be joined by those whom he had appointed to go with them. And being now ready to depart, he first communicated the design to his wife Laodice; who was so struck with the surprise that she lost her senses. Achæus, having employed some time in soothing and calming her disorder, and encouraged her to expect a happy success, chose four of his friends, and clothing them in plain habits, himself also taking a simple and vulgar dress, and appearing to be a person of mean condition, set forwards on his way towards the gate. He had ordered, likewise, that one alone of these attendants should answer all the questions

that should be asked by Arianus, as well as ask of him whatever might be necessary; and should say that the others were barbarians. When they had joined the traitors, Arianus went the first, as being acquainted with the way: and Bolis, as it had been concerted, followed behind the rest, but not without great perplexity and doubt. For though, as a Cretan, he was ready enough, upon any ill occasion, to penetrate through the artifice of others, yet in the darkness of the night he neither knew which of the persons was Achæus, nor whether he was indeed among them. But, as the path was rough and difficult, and many parts of the descent very slippery and full of danger, the pains which the rest employed, sometimes to support Achæus in such places, and sometimes to wait his coming, not being able altogether to abstain from that attention which they had been used to pay to their prince, soon discovered to the artful Cretan the person whom he desired to know. When they came, therefore, to the place appointed by Cambylus, the signal being given by a whistle, those that were in ambuscade suddenly seized the four attendants, while Bolis himself grasped Achæus, whose hands were wrapped within his garment, and held him fast; being apprehensive, that, perceiving what had happened, he would otherwise destroy himself with his sword, which he had brought with him. The rest soon surrounded him on every side; and making themselves masters of his person, conducted him, together with his friends, immediately to Antiochus.

The king had long been in suspense, and impatiently expected the event. Having dismissed his company, he remained alone in his tent without going to rest, attended by two or three guards. When he saw Cambylus enter, and place Achæus bound upon the ground, his astonishment took from him the power of speech, so that he remained for a long time silent. At last he melted into tears; being struck, as I suppose, with seeing in this signal instance how difficult it is to guard against the pre-

posterōus accidents of fortune. For this Achæus, who was the son of Andromachus, the brother of Laodice the wife of Seleucus; who himself had married Laodice the daughter of king Mithridates; who was sovereign of all the country on this side of mount Taurus; who in this very moment was thought, both by his own troops and by those of his enemies, to be secure in a fortress of the greatest strength; this very Achæus is now seated bound upon the ground, and thrown into the power of his greatest enemies; while every person is ignorant of the transaction, except those alone who had accomplished it. On the morrow, when the courtiers, as the custom was, came to the royal tent at break of day, and beheld Achæus, they were no less astonished than the king had been, and could scarcely give credit to what they saw. The council was then assembled; and, after long deliberation concerning the punishment that should be inflicted upon the unhappy prince, it was at last determined that his hands and feet should be first cut off, and afterwards his head: that the latter should be sewed up in the skin of an ass; and the body be fixed upon a cross. When this sentence was executed, the whole army was so strongly agitated by surprise and terror, that Laodice, who alone knew that her husband was gone, conjectured what had happened to him, when she beheld from the citadel the great commotion and disorder that was spread through all the camp. Soon afterwards, a herald being sent to inform her of the death of Achæus, and to command her to relinquish all affairs, and retire from the citadel; the garrison at first answered only with loud lamentations and extravagant cries; not so much on account of the affection which they had borne towards Achæus, as because the event itself was most unexpected and astonishing. When their grief had ceased, they found themselves involved in great perplexity. For Antiochus pressed the citadel closely without any intermission; being persuaded that, as Achæus was now removed, the garrison itself would most

probably furnish some occasion by which he might become master of the place. And this indeed soon happened. The soldiers fell into sedition, and formed two parties; one of which joined themselves to Ariobazus, while the other adhered to Laodice. And as each of these factions distrusted the other, they in a short time surrendered both themselves and the citadel to Antiochus.

In this manner died Achæus; vanquished by the treachery of those whom he had trusted, after he had employed every kind of caution that reason could suggest. His fate may afford two useful lessons to posterity. The first, that we ought not too easily to place a confidence in any person; and the other, that we never should be much elated by prosperous fortune; but remember that, as men, we are subject to the power of every accident.

EXTRACT THE SEVENTH.

Annibal takes Tarentum by surprise, and with the assistance of some of the citizens.

THE young men at first left the city in the night, as if they designed to make an excursion in search of booty. But when they approached near to the Carthaginian camp, the rest having concealed themselves in an adjoining wood, Philemenus only and Nico advanced close to the intrenchment. Being taken by the guards, and neither declaring who they were, nor from whence they came, but only that they had something to communicate to the general, they were soon brought to Annibal; and when they saw him, they desired that they might have some discourse with him alone. To this request he readily consented. And when they were alone with him, having first endeavoured to excuse their own conduct and that of their fellow-citizens, they then entered into a long and various accusation of the Romans; that the design which they had formed, to desert their party, might appear to have been suggested to

them by just reasons. Annibal received what they had said with great marks of favour, applauded their resolution, and then dismissed them; commanding them after a short time to return, and discourse with him again upon the business; and that, for the present, as soon as they had gained a little distance from the camp, they should boldly drive away the cattle that were within their reach, and the men that were with them; that he would give such orders, that they might do it without danger. His intention was both to gain time for himself to examine more closely what had been proposed; and to induce the Tarentines also to believe that the young men had left the city with no other design than to obtain some booty. The young men followed these directions. And as Annibal on the one hand was greatly pleased, that an occasion had at last been offered to him of becoming master of the city; so Nico also and Philemenus were encouraged to persist in their design with double ardour: not only because they had opened a way to converse with Annibal in full security, and had found him ready to embrace what they proposed; but because the quantity of the booty likewise which they carried back secured them against all suspicion on the part of their own citizens. For such was the abundance, that it served both for sacrifices and for feasts. The Tarentines, therefore, not only entertained not any suspicion, but many of them were desirous also of bearing a part in these excursions.

Not long afterwards they again went out of the city, and having observed the same caution as before, concluded with Annibal a solemn treaty upon these conditions; that he should leave the Tarentines in full enjoyment of their liberty, and neither should exact any tribute from them, nor impose upon them any law; and that as soon as the city should be taken, the Carthaginians should be allowed to pillage the houses that were occupied by the Romans. They received from him likewise a signal by which they might obtain admission from the guards, as often as they

should come to the camp. From this time, therefore, they had frequent opportunities to see and converse with Annibal: sometimes leaving the city as if they were going in search of booty, and sometimes under the pretence of hunting.

When the measures were thus prepared that were necessary to accomplish the intended project, the rest of the conspirators, while they waited for the proper time of action, advised Philemenus to be assiduous in his hunting. For this young man had through all his life been so devoted to the diversions of the field, that the general opinion of him was, that he had almost no other passion. It was concerted, therefore, that he should endeavour to gain the favour both of Caius Livius who commanded in the city, and of the guards also that were stationed at a certain gate, which was below the gate called Temenis, by presenting to them from time to time some part of the game which he should take.

Philemenus, having taken upon himself this part of the design, brought back continually some game to the city; either such as himself had taken, or what had been prepared for him by Annibal; and gave one part to the commander, and another part to the guards, that they might be ready to open to him the wicket of the gate. For he both left the city and returned, most usually in the night: on pretence indeed of danger from the enemy; but, in reality, because this season was most suitable to the design. When the guards then had been so long accustomed to this practice, that, as soon as Philemenus appeared, and gave the signal by a whistle, they were ready without any delay to open the gate; the conspirators, having received notice that the Roman governor designed on a certain day to give a feast to a large company in the Musæum, which was near to the citadel, resolved, in concert with Annibal, to choose that day for carrying their project into execution. This general, who for some time before had feigned himself to be sick, that his long continuance in one place

might not seem strange to the Romans, pretended now that his sickness was worse, and remained with the army at the distance of three days' journey from Tarentum. But when the appointed time was come, he selected from all the cavalry and infantry about ten thousand of the most active and bravest soldiers, and, commanding them to take provisions for four days, began his march with the greatest haste, just before the break of day; having ordered a body of eighty Numidian horse to advance at the distance of thirty stadia before the rest, that the main body might not be discerned by any; but that all those whom they should meet might either be taken prisoners by them, or, flying into the city, discover only that the Numidians were making incursions in the country. And when they were now distant from the city about a hundred and twenty stadia, he commanded the troops to rest, and to take their supper upon the banks of a river, where some precipices covered them from open view. He then called together the officers; and, not communicating to them the design, exhorted them only to acquit themselves like men of courage, and to be assured, that their bravery never would receive more ample rewards. In the next place, he commanded them to keep the order of the march with the greatest strictness; and to punish every soldier with severity that should leave his rank. And lastly, that they should carefully attend to all his orders, and do nothing except what should be commanded. With these orders, he dismissed them; and, as soon as the evening approached, again began his march, designing to arrive at the foot of the walls about the time of midnight. He took Philemenus with him as a guide; and had prepared a wild boar, which was to be used in the execution of the design.

Livius had assembled his friends together in the Musæum on that day, agreeable to the notice which the conspirators had before received. About the time of sun-set, when the feast was at the height, some messengers arrived with the news, that the Numidians were making incursions in the

country. The governor, not apprehending any thing besides, and being diverted indeed by this very account from any suspicion of the truth, gave orders to some officers, that, as soon as the day should appear, they should take one half of the cavalry, and endeavour to stop the ravages of the enemy.

When night was now come, Nico, Tragiscus, and all the rest that were engaged in the design, having collected themselves together in the city, expected the return of Livius; which, as the feast had been celebrated in the day, soon happened. The rest of the young men then remained together in their place at a certain distance. But some of them advanced forwards to meet the company; and, assuming a dissolute and sportive air, began to mimic the gestures of those that were returning from the banquet. And when they had joined the governor, whose senses were greatly disordered by the wine, they gave a free scope to their mirth. They laughed with him; received and retorted his jests; and, turning back with him, conducted him in that manner to his house; where, with a mind dissolved in joy, and free from every anxious and disquieting thought, he soon sunk into that deep sleep, which drinking in the day is so ready to procure. Nico and Tragiscus then returned back again to their companions: and, dividing themselves into three bodies, took possession of the avenues that led towards the forum; that from thence they might be able to observe whatever should happen either within or without the city. There were some also that were stationed near to the house of the governor. For they well knew, that, if any suspicion should arise of their design, it would be first conveyed to Livius; and that every measure that could be taken to prevent the execution, must begin from him. But when the several companies of the evening had at last retired, and all the tumult of the city ceased; when the inhabitants were fast in sleep, and the night far advanced; the young men, finding that nothing had appeared to obstruct their

hopes, again united themselves in one body, and prepared to begin their work.

The measures which they had concerted with the Carthaginians were these: that Annibal having approached the city on the eastern side, and directing his march towards the gate called Temenis, should kindle a fire upon a certain tomb, which by some was called the tomb of Hyacinthus, and by others of Apollo Hyacinthus: that Tragiscus, on the other hand, as soon as he should perceive this fire, should answer by another within the city: and that Annibal, having then extinguished the fire which he had made, should advance slowly towards the gate. Agreeably to this plan, the young men, having traversed the streets of the city, came to the place of the tombs. For the eastern side of Tarentum is filled with sepulchres of the dead; who, in obedience to an ancient oracle, are all buried, even to the present age, within the gates. The words of the oracle are said to have been these: "That the fortune of Tarentum would be happier and more prosperous, in proportion to the numbers that should inhabit it." The Tarentines, therefore, in order to obtain a full accomplishment of the prediction, from that time kept their dead also within the city. The young men then, arriving at this place, stood near the tomb of Pythionicus, and waited for the event. Annibal soon approached, and made the signal that had been concerted. Nico and Tragiscus, filled with confidence, immediately answered by another fire. And when that of Annibal was again extinguished, they then ran with the greatest haste towards the gate, that they might be able to kill the guards, before the Carthaginians should arrive. For it had been concerted, that the troops should advance leisurely, and with a deliberate pace. The whole thing succeeded as they desired. The guards were taken by surprise: and while one part of the conspirators were employed in killing them, the rest broke the bars; and, the gate being soon set open, Annibal also arrived in the

very moment that was requisite: having conducted his march with so great prudence, that no discovery had been made of it in the city. Making his entry, therefore, without any tumult or resistance, as he had at first designed; and being persuaded that the chief part of the work was already finished, he advanced boldly from the lower side of the city, through the street that led to the forum: leaving only a body of two thousand of his cavalry without the gate; that they might be ready either to intercept any enemy that should appear from without, or to serve in the case of any of those sudden accidents, which frequently arise in the course of such enterprises. When he came near to the forum, he ordered the troops to halt, and waited for the arrival of Philemenus; not without some solicitude with respect to this part of the design. For when himself, after he had made the signal of the fire, began his march towards the gate called Temenis, he at the same time sent Philemenus, with a wild boar, and a thousand Africans, to another gate that was near; being desirous to employ more means than one, and not to trust the success of the project to any single measure.

After some time, Philemenus approached the walls, and made the accustomed signal by a whistle. The guard immediately descended to the gate. Philemenus called to him to open without delay; and said, that they carried a heavy load, having brought with them a wild boar. The guard, being pleased with what he heard, and hoping to receive, as at other times, some share of the fortunate chase, hastily opened the wicket of the gate. Philemenus then entered, carrying the foremost part of the barrow; and with him another, who appeared to be a peasant, and wore the dress of a shepherd. Two others also followed, and supported the burden behind. When the four had entered, they first killed the guard; who, not suspecting any harm, was employed in viewing and in handling the boar. At the same time thirty Africans, who had ad-

vanced before the rest, passed leisurely through the wicket, and without any interruption. And while one party began to break the bars of the gate, others killed the rest of the guards. The signal being then made, the whole body of the Africans that were without entered through the gate, and directed their march towards the forum, as they had been before commanded.

When Annibal saw these troops approach, being overjoyed to find that the design had thus far been attended with success, he made haste to carry into execution what remained. Having divided the Gauls, who were in number about two thousand, into three separate bodies, he placed at the head of each two of the young men who had joined in the conspiracy, together with two Carthaginian officers; and commanded them to take possession of the most commodious avenues that led into the forum. He ordered the young men to save from slaughter all the citizens that they should meet; and to proclaim aloud, that the Tarentines should remain in their place, and be assured of safety. But he commanded the Carthaginian and Gallic officers to kill every Roman that should fall in their way. Immediately these bodies separated, and marched by different ways to execute these orders.

As it now began to be known that the enemy had entered, the whole city was filled with clamour and confusion. Livius, being informed of what had happened, and finding himself so much inebriated as to be incapable of acting, immediately with his domestics left his house; and having ordered the wicket of the gate that led to the harbour to be opened to him, went on board one of the vessels that were at anchor there, and sailed round to the citadel. About the same time Philemenus, having prepared some Roman trumpets, and some persons who had learned to blow them, ordered them to be sounded near the theatre. The Romans, in obedience to a signal to which they had been accustomed, immediately took arms, and running towards the forum, afforded the occasion

which their enemies desired. For as they spread themselves through the streets without any order, they fell, some of them among the Carthaginians, and some among the Gauls, and were destroyed by them in very great numbers.

The day began now to appear, and the Tarentines, who had remained quiet in their houses, were not able to understand the truth of what had happened. For, as on the one hand they heard only the Roman trumpets, and saw no attempt made to plunder or insult the city, they were ready to persuade themselves, that the Romans themselves had occasioned the disorder. But when they perceived, on the other hand, that many of the Roman soldiers were killed in the streets; and that the Gauls were busy in spoiling them, they then began to suspect that the Carthaginians had found means to enter the city. But when it was now clear day, and the Romans had retired into the citadel, in which there was a garrison; Annibal, having drawn up all his forces in order of battle in the forum, ordered proclamation to be made, that the Tarentines should all meet together in the forum likewise without arms. At the same time, the young men who had joined in the conspiracy, ran through the city, crying liberty, and exhorting the citizens not to fear, but to consider the Carthaginians as their deliverers and friends. When they heard these words, as many of the citizens as remained firm in the interests of the Romans fled also into the citadel. The rest obeyed the order, and came to the forum without arms. As soon as they were assembled, Annibal harangued them in a discourse that was full of favour. And when the Tarentines on their part, having obtained so unexpected a deliverance, received all that he said with loud and general applause, he then dismissed them; commanding that each of them should inscribe the word TARENTINE upon the door of his house; and forbidding them, under pain of death, to make the same inscription upon any house that belonged to a Roman. Hav-

ing afterwards divided into several bands the troops that were most proper for this service, he sent them away to pillage all the houses upon which they should see no inscription: and kept the rest of his forces drawn up in order, that they might be ready to support the first. The Carthaginians, having collected together in this pillage great quantities of plunder of every kind, and obtained a booty that fully answered all their expectations, remained under their arms during that whole night.

On the following day Annibal, after he had held a consultation with the Tarentines, resolved to separate the city from the citadel by a wall, that the inhabitants might have nothing to dread from the sallies of the Roman garrison. He began, therefore, with first throwing up an intrenchment parallel to the wall and the ditch of the city. But as he well knew that the enemy would employ all their power to obstruct him in this design; and judging likewise, that nothing was more necessary with respect to the future time than that he should strike a terror into the Romans, and inspire the Tarentines with confidence; he held in readiness some of the bravest of his forces. As soon as the work was begun the Romans sallied out, and began the attack with great impetuosity and courage. At first Annibal only skirmished, in order to provoke still more the ardour of the enemy. But when a sufficient number of them had advanced beyond the ditch, he then gave the signal to his troops, and fell with fury upon the Romans. The fight was for some time sharp and obstinate; and such as might be expected upon a narrow ground, and in a place that was inclosed with walls. But the Romans, being closely pressed, were at last forced to fly. Many of them had fallen in the action; but the greatest part, flying in disorder, were pushed into the ditch, and perished there.

After this success, Annibal continued the work of the intrenchment in full security; and was pleased to find that the event had fully answered all his expectations. For as

the Romans were now forced to remain quiet behind their walls, and began to fear that the citadel, as well as themselves, would be exposed to danger; the Tarentines, on the other hand, were so filled with confidence, that they were persuaded, that, without any assistance from the Carthaginians, they should be able to defend themselves against the Romans. When this work was finished, at a little distance from the intrenchment, and on the side towards the city, he ordered a ditch to be made, parallel to the intrenchment, and to the wall of the citadel; and, on the side of the ditch which was next to the city, a rampart; which was covered also on the top with a palisade, and was itself almost as secure as a wall. At a moderate distance from this rampart, in a line with it, and on the side also that was next to the city, he ordered a wall likewise to be built, from the place called Sotira to the street that was named the Lower Street. With such fortifications the Tarentines wanted not the presence of an army to secure them against the insults of the enemy. Annibal therefore, leaving only a sufficient garrison, with a necessary guard of cavalry, went and encamped at the distance of forty stadia from the city, upon the banks of a river which is sometimes called Galesus, but most commonly Eurotas, from the river of the same name which flows near to the city of Sparta. For there are many appellations of this kind, both in the city and through the whole territory of Tarentum, which the Tarentines, who are allowed to have sprung from the Spartan stock, brought with them from the country from which they migrated.

By the great zeal and diligence of the Tarentines, who were assisted also by the Carthaginians in the work, the building of the wall was in a short time finished. Annibal then resolved to attempt to take the citadel. But when the necessary preparations were completed, the Romans, having received some succours by the sea from Metapontum, in some degree resumed their courage; and, making a sally in the night, destroyed all the machines and works.

The Carthaginians, therefore, were forced to abandon that design. But as the wall was now finished, Annibal assembled the Tarentines together, and told them, that the thing of greatest importance in the present circumstances was, that they should render themselves masters of the sea: that, as the citadel commanded the entrance of the harbour, their vessels, not being able to sail out of the port, were altogether useless; that the Romans, on the other hand, would receive all necessaries by the sea in full security: and that, as long as the enemy should be possessed of this advantage, the liberty of the city must still be exposed to danger. But if the Romans, he said, could be but once excluded from the means of receiving any supplies by the sea, they would immediately have recourse to a voluntary submission, and surrender the citadel. The Tarentines assented to this discourse; but were not able to conceive by what way the thing now mentioned could be accomplished; unless perhaps by the arrival of a Carthaginian fleet. But this was not to be expected at the present time. They knew not, therefore, nor were they able to conjecture, to what this discourse of Annibal could lead. And when he farther told them, that it was manifestly in their own power, by themselves alone, and without any assistance from the Carthaginians, to become masters of the sea, they were still more surprised, and unable to comprehend his meaning.

But this general, having remarked that the street that was on the inside of the wall, and which led from the harbour to the exterior sea, might easily be accommodated to the purpose, had conceived the design of transporting the vessels over this ground from the port to the southern side of the city. As soon then as he disclosed this project, the Tarentines not only acknowledged that the thing was practicable, but expressed also the highest admiration, and were persuaded that nothing was too difficult for the sagacity and courage of this great commander. Immediately, therefore, they prepared some carriages with wheels; and

applied themselves with such alacrity, and in so great numbers, to the execution of this design, that the work was accomplished almost as soon as it was proposed. The Tarentines then, when they had thus drawn their vessels over the land into the open sea, and cut off all supplies from the Romans, invested the citadel without any danger. Annibal, having left a sufficient garrison in the city, began his march back again with the army; and, arriving on the third day in his first camp, continued there during the remainder of the winter.

BOOK THE NINTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Different kinds of history. The most useful is that which relates public actions.

THESE then are the most remarkable transactions that were included in the Olympiad before mentioned, and in the course of four years complete; which, as we have said, is to be considered as the proper term of an Olympiad. These transactions we shall endeavour to describe in the two following books.

I am not ignorant, indeed, that the manner in which I write this history has something in it unpleasing; and that the uniformity of the composition must render it suitable to the taste and judgment of only one sort of readers. For all other historians, or at least the greatest part of them, employ together all the several branches of history, and by the means of that variety, attract many different persons to the reading of their works. Thus those, for example, who seek only a present satisfaction, are gratified with an account of the origin and descent of families. Others again, more curious and inquisitive, have a pleasure in tracing the settlement of colonies, the foundation of cities, and the migrations of people, as they are found in the work of Ephorus; and the attention of the political reader is fixed by the recital of the public actions of nations, cities, and kingdoms. With regard, therefore, to myself, as I have confined my labours simply to these actions, and excluded every other subject from my work, this history, as I have said, is properly adapted only to one sort of men, and has nothing in it that can allure the

minds of the greatest part of readers. The reasons that induced me to choose this branch of history alone, and to reject the rest, have been shewn at large in other parts of this work. It may not, however, be improper, for the sake of impressing them again more strongly upon the memory, to give a short recapitulation of them in this place.

As these genealogies then, with all the fabulous stories that attend them, as the establishments of colonies, the relations of people one to another, and the foundations of cities, have already been recounted by many writers, and in a very copious manner: the necessary consequence must be, that whoever at this time resumes these subjects, either must appropriate to himself the labours of another, which of all actions is the basest; or, not claiming them as his own, must appear to be engaged in a very useless undertaking; since, by his own acknowledgment, he is only busied in compiling an account of those very matters, which have already been sufficiently explained, and transmitted to posterity by former writers. For this reason, therefore, as well as for many others, I have rejected all such subjects. With regard to actions there are two reasons, likewise, that determined me to adopt them as the only subject of my work. First, as actions happen in a continually new succession, the relation of them also must be always new; nor is there any need, in composing a recital of late events, to go back to others that have already been recounted. In the next place, this kind of history, as it has been in all times the most instructive, is such most eminently in the present age. For so great is the perfection to which all arts and sciences have been raised, that those who are acquainted with them may now examine every thing that happens by some certain rule. Upon these accounts then, I have confined myself, as I have said, to the recital of actions only: and I am persuaded that those who shall read my work with due attention, will

be ready to bear the strongest testimony to the truth of these reflections.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

Annibal, having in vain endeavoured to force the Romans to raise the siege of Capua, advances with the same design towards Rome, but is disappointed in his expectation. A comparison of Annibal with Epaminondas; and of the Lacedæmonians with the Romans.

ANNIBAL, having extended his army in a circle round the whole camp of Appius, at first endeavoured by light skirmishing to draw him out to an engagement. And when no answer was returned to this invitation, he then invested the camp as in a regular siege. The cavalry, advancing together in troops, threw their javelins with loud cries into the very camp; while the infantry, ranged also in just cohorts, attempted to tear away the pallisade of the intrenchment. The Romans, however, were not moved from their purpose even by these attacks; but opposed their light forces only to those who came near to the intrenchment; while the heavy armed troops, drawn up in cohorts, and covering them from the javelins that were thrown, remained quiet in their ranks. Annibal, therefore, being grieved to find that he neither could throw himself into the city of Capua, nor draw the Romans to an engagement, was at last forced to have recourse to other counsels, and to consider with himself what measures were most proper to be taken.

The state indeed in which things now appeared, might well fill the Carthaginians with perplexity, since it cannot but occasion some embarrassment even to those who read only a relation of it. For is it not almost incredible, that the Romans, who had been so often defeated by the Carthaginians, that they dared not to engage them again in set bat-

tle, should yet refuse to retire, or to leave the field? Is it not astonishing, that those very troops, who in former times had never left the sides of the hills, should now descend into the plains, and lay siege to the noblest city, in the most conspicuous part of Italy; while their camp also was surrounded by those very enemies, whom they had feared to look deliberately in the face? The Carthaginians, on the other hand, who had gained victory after victory without any intermission, were at this very time perplexed with no less difficulty than the vanquished. In my judgment, however, the conduct both of the one and of the other was founded simply upon this opinion, which was common to them both; that the cavalry of Annibal was the only cause, to which the Carthaginians owed all their victories, and the Romans their defeats. Upon this account it was, that the latter, immediately after every action, had been accustomed to lead their armies along the sides of the hills, in sight indeed of the enemy, but in places where the cavalry was not able to act against them. And with respect particularly to all that now passed in the neighbourhood of Capua, the same persuasion very clearly explains the motives that determined either army. For the Romans, while they refused to draw out their forces to a battle, through dread of the cavalry of the enemy, at the same time remained with confidence in the post which they had taken; as being well assured, that this very cavalry, which had occasioned their defeat in every set engagement, was not able to make any impression upon their camp. The Carthaginians again considered, and with no less reason, that it would not be possible for them to keep their cavalry long together in a body. For the forage had been purposely destroyed by the Romans through all the country. Nor was it possible to bring from any great distance those supplies of hay and of barley, which so large a number of horses and beasts of burden would require. And if, on the other hand, they should dismiss their cavalry, and remain afterwards in their

camp; they never could attack, without manifest hazard, an enemy who was strongly intrenched, and against whom every engagement, not supported by their cavalry, must be attended with very doubtful success. They were apprehensive likewise, that some new forces might arrive; and encamping close behind them, might involve them in the greatest difficulties by intercepting their supplies. Annibal therefore, having concluded from these reasons that it was not possible to draw the Romans from the siege by open force, resolved to attempt it in a different way.

He considered with himself, that, if he could make a secret march, and appear suddenly in the neighbourhood of Rome, either some advantage might perhaps be gained against the city, before the inhabitants should be recovered from the consternation into which so unexpected an event would throw them; or, on the other hand, that Appius would be forced to raise the siege of Capua, and hasten to the assistance of his country; or, sending away one part at least of his army for that purpose, would afford the opportunity of an easy victory, both against the forces that should be so separated from the rest, and those also that would be left behind. Having formed then this design, he engaged an African to pass as a deserter into the Roman camp, and from thence into the city, with letters which he had taken care to secure. For he had reason to fear that the inhabitants, as soon as they should perceive that he was gone, would despair of receiving any farther succour, and surrender themselves to the Romans. He contrived, therefore, that these letters should be delivered to them on the very day following his departure; that, being acquainted with his purpose, they might be encouraged still to sustain the siege.

At Rome, when the news arrived of what passed in the neighbourhood of Capua; and that Annibal had encamped close to the Roman army, and even invested them in their camp; the minds of all men were raised in suspense, and were filled with anxiety and dread. For it seemed that

the very moment that would decide the war was now approaching. The citizens therefore, in general, and every one particularly, were occupied with no other care, than to complete the preparations for that side, and to send all the necessary succours.

The people of Capua, when they had received the letters from the hands of the African, and were informed of the design of Annibal, resolved to wait the event, and sustain the siege. In the mean time, this general, on the fifth day after he had first encamped, having ordered the troops to take their supper, and leaving his fires lighted, decamped in the evening with so great secrecy, that the enemy knew not that he was gone. With continual and forced marches, he passed through the territory of the Samnites, taking care always to send some troops before, to examine the country, and to occupy the proper posts. And while the attention of the Romans was wholly fixed on the affairs of Capua, and the condition of the siege, he passed the river Anio before he was discovered, and, advancing still nearer towards Rome, fixed his camp at the distance of no more than forty stadia from the city. The first news of this approach filled all Rome with terror and confusion. For, beside that the event was sudden, it was most distant likewise from every expectation; because Annibal never had approached so near before. Add to this, that an opinion also immediately prevailed, that he would not even now have ventured to approach, unless the legions that were employed in the siege of Capua had been first defeated. The men therefore made haste to mount the walls, and to take all the advantageous posts that were without the city: while the women went round to the temples, offering supplications to the gods, and sweeping the pavements of the holy shrines with their hair. For such is the custom of this people, whenever their country is threatened with any great and unusual danger.

Annibal then, having encamped in the place that has been mentioned, had resolved to make an attempt against

the city on the following day; when an accident, as fortunate as unexpected, occasioned the safety of Rome. The consuls, Cneus Fulvius and Publius Sulpicius, who had before enrolled one legion, had ordered the soldiers to attend at Rome with their arms upon this very day, to take the military oath. At this very time likewise, they were employed in selecting and enrolling men for another legion. Thus a great body of troops was assembled, as it were spontaneously, in the moment that was requisite. The consuls, placing themselves with confidence at their head, went and encamped without the city; and by this measure gave an effectual check to the ardour of the Carthaginians. For Annibal had at first advanced, and was not without hopes that he should be able to take the city by storm. But when he saw that the Romans were drawn up in battle against him; and being informed also of the true state of things by a prisoner that was taken, he desisted from the attempt: and leading his army through the country, set fire to the houses, and plundered all that was within his reach. The booty that was gained even in the first excursions was such as exceeded all account: being drawn from a country, into which it never had been expected that an enemy would at any time come.

The consuls however were now so filled with confidence, that they had the boldness to encamp at the distance of ten stadia only from the Carthaginian army. But Annibal, having considered that his troops were loaded with an immense booty; that he had failed in his attempt against the city; and, above all, that the time was now elapsed, in which he had supposed that Appius, informed of the danger with which Rome was threatened, would either raise the siege of Capua, or, leaving there a small part only of his forces, would hasten with the rest to defend his country; and that, in either case, he should meet him on his way with some advantage; resolved to begin his march back again, and decamped early in the morning. But Publius, having before broken the bridges that were upon

the river, so that the Carthaginians were obliged to ford the stream, pressed closely upon the rear of the army in their passage, and threw them into no small disorder. The numbers indeed of the Carthaginian cavalry, and the readiness of the Numidians in assisting every part that was attacked, prevented the action from being in any manner general. The Romans however recovered again a great part of the plunder; and, having taken prisoners also about three hundred men, they then returned back to their camp. And being afterwards persuaded, that fear alone had determined Annibal to make so precipitate a retreat, they followed closely after him, leading their army along the sides of the hills.

The Carthaginian general, keeping in view his first design, for some time continued his march with the greatest haste. But, after five days, being informed that Appius had not left the siege, he halted, till the Romans who were following him were come near: and then falling suddenly upon their camp in the night, he killed great numbers of them, and forced the rest to fly out of the camp. And when the morning was come, perceiving that they had retreated to a strong eminence that was near, he resolved not to attack them in that post; but continued his route through Daunia and the Brutian district, appeared so unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, that he had almost made himself master of the city. For all that were found in the country upon his approach fell into his hands; and among them many of the inhabitants of Rhegium.

Is there any one now that can withhold his admiration, or refuse the testimony that is due to the emulation and the courage that were so signally displayed upon this occasion both by the Carthaginians and the Romans? The conduct of Epaminondas, in an action not unlike to that which we have now described, has received the applause of all mankind. This general, arriving at Tegea with his allies, perceived that the Lacedæmonians had drawn together all their forces, as well as those of their allies, to

Mantinea, with design to offer battle to the Theban army. Having ordered his troops, therefore, to take their supper at an early hour, he led them out in the beginning of the night, under the pretence of occupying certain posts, that were most proper for the approaching battle. But when this persuasion was spread through all the army, he directed his march straight to Sparta, and arrived most unexpectedly about the third hour of the night. Finding the place destitute of all defence, he penetrated as far as to the forum, and made himself master of all the parts of the city that were on the side of the river. But this fortune soon was changed. For Agesilaus, having been informed of what had happened by a deserter who had gone in the night to Mantinea, immediately began his march, and arrived at Sparta with all his forces in the very moment when the city was taken. Epaminondas, therefore, being thus forced to abandon his design, ordered his troops to take their repast upon the banks of the Eurotas; and, having allowed also some time for rest, he resolved to march back again in haste by the same way by which he had arrived; being persuaded that, as the whole Lacedæmonian army had come in haste to protect their country, Mantinea in its turn was now left without defence. And this indeed was the truth. He therefore encouraged his troops; and continuing his march all night with the greatest haste, arrived about the middle of the day in the neighbourhood of Mantinea, which had no force sufficient to make resistance. But it happened that the Athenians, who were desirous to bear a part in the intended action against the Thebans, arrived at this very time, with design to join the Lacedæmonian army. And when the advanced guard of the Thebans had just reached the temple of Neptune, which stood at the distance of seven stadia only from Mantinea; in the same instant the Athenians, as if by concert, appeared upon the top of the hill that commanded the city. On the sight of these succours the Mantineans were at last encouraged to mount the walls, and oppose the entrance

of the Thebans. It is not without good reason, therefore, that historians blame these accidents; and say of Epaminondas, that he performed every thing that was to be expected from a skilful general; and while he shewed himself to be superior to his enemies, was vanquished only by ill fortune.

The same reflections may be made with respect to the conduct of Annibal in the present instance. For when it is considered, that this general first attempted to raise the siege of Capua, by encamping near to the enemy, and attacking them in many little combats; that, when this design had failed, he then marched, with the same intention, into the very neighbourhood of Rome; that, when accident alone had prevented the success of this bold project, and forced him to return back again with his army, he still kept his attention fixed upon his first design, and stood ready to take advantage of any motion that should be made by the army that was employed in the siege; and lastly, when it is remembered that he did not even in the end desist from his undertaking, till he had dispersed the Romans with great slaughter, and almost taken the city by surprise; who can behold such actions, and not bestow upon this great commander the strongest testimony of admiration and applause?

With regard to the Romans, they must be allowed indeed to have deserved upon this occasion even a higher degree of praise than the Lacedæmonians in the instance that has been mentioned. For the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they knew that Sparta was attacked, marched away in haste, and saved indeed their own city, but suffered Mantinea, as far as it depended upon themselves alone, to be lost. But the Romans preserved their country; and yet drew not away their army from the walls of Capua: but remaining immoveable and fixed in their first purpose, continued to press the siege with the same confidence as before.

But let it not now be imagined that my purpose in

falling into this digression was barely to extol the Carthaginians and the Romans. Their great actions have already been often celebrated in the course of this work. My design was rather, by displaying the conduct of the leaders in these two states, to afford a lesson to all those who may hereafter be placed at the head of affairs in any country. That, when they call to their remembrance the fame of these commanders, and place their actions in full view before them, they may be led to emulate such great examples: and be persuaded that many things which appear to be beyond measure daring and full of danger, are not less safe in the execution than admirable in the attempt; and that the design itself, as well when frustrated as when attended with success, will draw after it immortal honour, if it be conducted only with ability and skill.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

The ill policy of the Romans censured, in carrying into their own country the ornaments of the cities which they had conquered.

SUCH then was the reason that determined the Romans to remove into their own country the ornaments that have been mentioned, and not to leave any part behind. Whether this resolution was right and agreeable to their interests, or the contrary, would afford room perhaps for much dispute. It seems, however, that the strongest reasons might be brought to shew, that they acted, and still continue to act, very imprudently in this matter. If the cultivation indeed of arts like these had been the means of their first advancement to strength and power, they might then, with good reason, have transferred into their own possession such ornaments as had been found effectual to promote the greatness of their country. But as in truth it was a kind of life that was destitute of all superfluous wealth, and manners far removed from elegance and splen-

dour, which enabled them to subdue continually those very nations which possessed the most, as well as the most beautiful, of these embellishments; how can it be doubted, but that they erred in judgment upon this occasion? Nor are they to be blamed in this respect alone, that, when they were conquerors, they relinquished their own manners, and adopted the spirit of the conquered in exchange. There is also a certain kind of envy, which never fails to accompany such actions; and which, of all things, a powerful empire has the greatest cause to dread. For when men behold a state in possession of the riches that belonged to others, instead of applauding the good fortune, they view it, on the contrary, with secret jealousy; and are at the same time moved by sentiments of compassion towards those who have been thus despoiled. And when, in the farther progress of success, the whole wealth of every foreign state is drawn together to one city, and the people themselves are invited, as it were, to take a view of that magnificence which so lately was their own; the evil then becomes greater than before. For the spectators, not actuated, as in the former instance, by compassion for the sufferings of their neighbours, are now exasperated by a sense of their own losses: and begin to glow, not with envy alone, but with resentment also against those whom fortune has so favoured. For the remembrance of the calamities which men have felt, will naturally excite their hatred against the authors of them. If the Romans indeed had only carried away the silver and the gold from the countries which they conquered, they would have deserved no blame. For they could not in general have held the vanquished in subjection, unless they had deprived them of that source of their strength, and added it to their own. But with respect to the riches of a different kind, it would certainly have been far more prudent, to have suffered them to remain where they were found, together with the envy which they inspire: and to have established the glory of their own country, not by the vain ornaments of pictures

and statues, but by a gravity of manners, and a magnanimity of conduct. But these reflections are sufficient. They may serve perhaps as instruction at least to future conquerors; not to strip the cities which they subdue; nor to think it possible, that the calamities of other nations can ever become the ornament of their own countries.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

A digression concerning the proper manner of conducting any enterprise. What things are necessary to be known by the commander of an army. The application and use of astronomy and geometry. Examples of generals who failed in their attempts, from being unacquainted with the principles of those sciences. A censure of some common errors, arising from the same defect.

CHAP. I.

IN the affairs of war, much consideration is indeed required, to guard against the accidents that may arise in the course of such an undertaking. And yet in every project there is good reason to expect success, if the means of carrying it into execution be conducted only with sound sense and judgment.

If we examine then the accounts of former wars, it will be very obvious to perceive, that those actions, which are accomplished openly and by force alone, are much less frequent, than those that are concerted with some stratagem, and upon some occasion that is offered. From the same view likewise it will be no less evident, that, among these last, the number of those that fail, is greater than of those that are attended with success. And that the want also of success, upon such occasions, is almost always to be ascribed to the ignorance or the negligence of the commanders, cannot reasonably be doubted. I shall endeavour therefore to point out the proper method of conduct-

ing enterprises of this sort; not taking into the consideration things that happen without foresight or intention, which deserve the name of chance or accident rather than of actions, and which are in their nature too unsettled to be fixed by any rule; but confining myself wholly to those actions which are undertaken with some certain purpose and design.

Every action then, of the kind here mentioned, must have a determinate point of time; a certain portion of time; and a certain place. It requires also secrecy; certain persons, through whom, and by whom, it must be accomplished: and lastly, a certain manner of carrying it into execution. When a commander has formed his measures right with respect to all these circumstances, it is manifest, that his attempt will be attended with success. But, on the other hand, the neglect of any one of these will most assuredly defeat the whole design. For such is the nature of all concerted enterprises; a failure in any single part, however inconsiderable, shall have force to overthrow them; while all the measures together scarcely are sufficient to conduct an undertaking to its destined end. It is clearly therefore a matter of the last importance, not to leave any thing neglected upon such occasions.

Now, of all the precautions that have been mentioned, the first to which a commander should attend is that of observing secrecy. That neither the joy which springs from an unexpected prospect of success, nor yet the dread of a miscarriage; that neither friendship nor affection may prevail upon him, to communicate his design to any persons, except those alone without whose assistance it cannot be carried into execution; and not even to these, till the time in which their services are severally required obliges him to disclose it. Nor is it necessary only that the tongue be silent; but much more, that the mind also make not any discovery. For it has often happened, that men, who have carefully restrained themselves from speaking, have sometime by their countenance alone, and some-

times by their actions, very clearly manifested their designs. A second thing to be considered are the different routes, either by day or by night, and the manner of performing them, both upon land and sea. The third, and indeed the greatest object, is, to know the differences of the times that depend upon the heavens; and to be able to accommodate them to the execution of any design. Nor is the manner of executing any enterprise to be regarded as a point of small importance. For this alone has often made things practicable, which appeared to be impossible, and ordered others impracticable, which were easy to be performed. In the last place, great attention should be paid to signals and countersignals; as well as to the choice of the persons, through whose means, and with whose assistance, the undertaking is to be accomplished.

The knowledge that is requisite in the things now mentioned is to be acquired partly by experience, partly by enquiry, and partly by the rules of science. With respect to the several routes; the place that is the object of the march; the nature of that place; and the persons fit to be employed in the execution of the enterprise; it is best, indeed, when a commander is himself acquainted with these things from his own proper knowledge. But if it be otherwise, his duty then is, to use the greatest care in his enquiries: not trusting rashly to any information that is offered; nor following any guides, without leaving behind him some pledges of their fidelity. In these things then, and in others similar to these, a general may obtain sufficient light, by consulting that experience which is gained in armies; by employing his own industry; and by making the necessary enquiries. But there are others that demand skill and knowledge, and some acquaintance with the rules of theoretical science, especially with those of astronomy and geometry. For, without having recourse to the more difficult branches of these two sciences, there are certain parts of them, which, though they require but little labour, are of the greatest use upon such occasions,

and serve principally to promote the success of all such enterprises as have here been mentioned.

Among the things that are to be learned in this method, one of the most necessary is the investigation of the theory of the days and nights. If, indeed, the days and the nights were at all times equal, there would be no need of study, in order to acquire a knowledge which would in that case be common and obvious to all. But since they are different, not only each from the other, but also from themselves, it is plainly a matter of great importance, to know the laws by which they are severally diminished or increased. For, unless he be acquainted with these differences, how shall a commander be able to measure with exactness the time of a concerted march, either by night or by day? How can he be assured, without this knowledge, that he shall not either arrive too early, or too late? It happens also upon such occasions, and indeed upon such alone, that the first of these mistakes is more dangerous than the other. For he who arrives too late, is only forced to abandon his design. Perceiving his error, while he is yet at a distance, he may return back again with safety. But he who comes before the appointed time, being discovered by the enemy upon his approach, not only fails in the intended enterprise, but is in danger also of suffering an entire defeat. It is time indeed, which generally governs in all human actions; and most particularly in the affairs of war. A commander, therefore, should be perfectly acquainted with the time of the summer and the winter solstice; the equinoxes; and the different degrees of the diminution, or increase of the nights and days, as they fall between the equinoctial points. For this is the only method that can enable him to adjust his motions to the course of time, either by land or sea.

Nor is it less necessary that a commander should also know distinctly the several portions of the day and of the night; in order to determine the proper hour of rising, and of putting the troops in march. For without begin-

ning well, it is not possible to obtain a happy end. Now the time of day may easily be known: by the shadow from the sun; by the course which the sun takes; and by the different degrees of his elevation above the earth. But it is not so easy to distinguish the time of night: unless to those who are versed in the doctrine of the sphere; and are able to follow the course of the twelve signs, and to mark their disposition in the heavens. With this knowledge, it is a matter of no difficulty. For, though the nights are unequal, yet, since in the course of every night six of the twelve signs are raised above the horizon, it necessarily follows, that at the same times of the night, equal parts of the twelve signs must always appear. When it is known then what part of the zodiac the sun occupies in the day, nothing more is requisite, than, at the time of his setting, to draw a line diametrically through the circle. When this is done, as much as the zodiac shall afterwards rise above the horizon, so much also of the night will have passed. And if the number only and the magnitude of the signs be known, the different parts of the night will be also known.

When the nights are cloudy, recourse must be had to the moon. For this planet is of such a magnitude, that, in whatever part of the heavens it may happen to be, the light of it may always be discerned. It is sometimes from the time and place of its rising, and sometimes from those of its setting, that the hours of the night are to be computed. But it will first be requisite to know with exactness the different times of its rising upon each several day. Nor is this knowledge difficult to be obtained. For as the course of the moon is completed in a single month, the right apprehension of its progress in that period will serve equally in all the rest.

Upon these principles it may be observed, how well the poet deserves our praise, when he represents Ulysses, who possessed all the qualities of a great commander, forming conjectures from the appearances of the heavens, not only

concerning the course of navigation, but with respect also to actions upon land. For even those sudden and unexpected events, by which men frequently are thrown into the greatest difficulties, may by this method be apprehended with exactness before they happen. Such are violent rains and inundations; the fall of snows; a black and clouded air; and other similar accidents. If we are, therefore, negligent with respect even to things of this kind, which are possible to be foreseen, must we not fail, through our own fault alone, in almost every thing that we attempt? But indeed there is scarcely one of all those precautions which have been before recited, that can with safety be neglected; if we would avoid falling into those absurdities of conduct into which many others are reported to have fallen. I shall here mention some of them as examples.

Aratus, the Achæan prætor, having resolved to attempt to take Cynætha by surprise, concerted the following plan with the citizens that were engaged in the design. That, on a certain day, having before advanced silently in the night, he should take his post near to the river that ran down from the city, and for some time remain quiet with his army. That, about the middle of the day, the citizens, when all things were prepared, should secretly send out one of their number, dressed in a mantle; who should take his stand upon a certain tomb that was without the city. That the rest should then attack the guards of the gate; who, according to their custom, would be sleeping at that hour; and that Aratus, in this very moment, should rise from his concealment, and advance with haste towards the gate. The matter being thus regulated, Aratus came at the appointed time; and, having stationed his troops in secret along the river, waited for the signal. It happened that one of the inhabitants, who was the master of some of those delicate sheep that were usually pastured near to the city, having occasion to give some sudden orders that concerned them, came out at the gate,

about an hour before the middle of the day, dressed in a mantle; and, standing upon the very tomb that had been named, looked round the country in search of his shepherd. Aratus, being persuaded that this was the signal that had been concerted, advanced in haste towards the gate. But the gate was immediately shut by the guards; for things were not yet ready within the city. Thus this general not only failed in his attempt, but brought destruction also upon the citizens that were engaged in the design. For being now discovered, they all lost their lives in torture. What now was the cause of this misfortune? It was only that Aratus, who was at this time extremely young, and not acquainted with the singular advantage of double and respondent signals, was satisfied with having concerted a single signal. So slight is the difference upon which the good or ill success of any military enterprise depends.

In the same manner also Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, when he had resolved to make an attempt of this kind upon Megalopolis, agreed with some of the garrison, who were to be stationed upon that part of the wall that was called Colæum, that he would come with his forces in the night, about the time of the third watch. For this was the hour in which these men were appointed to take the guard. But not having before considered, that at the time of the rising of the Pleiades the nights were extremely short, he did not begin his march from Lacedæmon till about the setting of the sun. It was therefore full day before he arrived at the destined place. He had the rashness however to attempt to storm the city; but was repulsed with disgrace and loss, and was even in danger of suffering an entire defeat: whereas, on the other hand, if he had only been exact in the computation of his time, his friends might have secured his entrance into the city, and the design have been attended with success.

Thus again king Philip, when he attempted to take Melite in the manner that has before been mentioned,

was guilty of a double error. For not only the ladders which he carried were too short; but he failed also with respect to the time. Instead of coming to the place in the middle of the night, as it had been concerted, when the people would have been all fast in sleep, he began his march from Larissa at an early hour; and, having entered the territory of the Melitæans, as it was neither safe for him to halt, lest the enemy should gain notice of his approach, nor possible to return back again without being perceived, he was compelled by necessity to advance, and arrived at the city before the inhabitants were yet gone to rest. But as he could not scale the walls, because the ladders were not proportioned to the height, so neither was he able to enter through the gate, because the time of the attack prevented his friends that were within the city from favouring his entrance. At last, therefore, having only provoked the rage of the inhabitants, and lost many of his men, he was forced to return back without accomplishing his purpose; and instructed all mankind, for the time to come, to be suspicious of his designs, and to set themselves on their guard against him.

Another example occurs in the example of Nicias, the Athenian. This general, having found a fair occasion for withdrawing his army from the siege of Syracuse, made choice of the proper time of night, and had retreated to a safe distance undiscovered by the enemy, when it happened that the moon was suddenly eclipsed. Being struck by this event, and vainly imagining that it portended some misfortune, he immediately suspended his march. The consequence was, that when he designed to continue his retreat on the following night, the Syracusans, having now gained notice of his motions, fell upon him as he marched, and rendered themselves masters both of the army and of all the leaders. And yet, if he only had enquired of men that were acquainted with these matters, he might not only not have lost his own proper time, but have rendered the accident itself subservient to his purpose, on account

of the ignorance of the enemy. For the ignorance of others is the surest way for conducting skilful men to the accomplishment of their designs. It is manifest then, that so much of astronomy should be acquired as may be necessary upon such occasions.

With regard to the measure of ladders, the method of determining it is this. If the height of the walls be known, by the means of some communication with those that are in the city, the proportion of the ladders is then most easy to be ascertained. For if the walls, for example, contain ten certain parts of any measure in height, the height of the ladders must include at the least twelve such parts. The distance of the foot of the ladders from the walls should be equal to one half of their height. For this is the most just proportion with respect to the men that are to mount upon them. If the distance be greater, the ladders will too easily be broken under the weight. If less, they will then be so erect, that the soldiers, as they ascend, must be continually in danger of falling headlong down. If the walls are not to be approached, and the measure of them is unknown, the height of any body that stands perpendicularly upon a plane surface may be taken at a distance. The method of doing this is not only practicable but easy to those who are acquainted with the mathematics. And thus again it is evident, that, in order to obtain success in military operations, the study of geometry will be also requisite; not indeed in its whole extent, but so far as it teaches to investigate the theory of relations and proportions. For it is not only in measuring the height of walls that this science is so necessary; but in changing also the figure of a camp as occasions may require. By this method it is that a general is enabled sometimes, taking every kind of figure, to keep still the same proportion between the several parts that are contained within the camp; and sometimes retaining the same figure to vary the proportion of the parts according to the number of those that enter, or that depart from the camp.

But these matters have already been treated by us at large in our discourse on the orders of battle.

It will not, I think, be objected to me by any reasonable man, that I require too much, in making astronomy and geometry a necessary part of study for the general of an army. To join indeed to any profession those foreign and superfluous acquisitions, which only serve to furnish matter of ostentation and idle talk, is a labour which I entirely disapprove. But as much as I condemn such unnecessary diligence, so much on the other hand must I contend for the necessity of drawing even from a distant source some knowledge of those things which are of constant and notorious use. For is it not absurd that persons who profess the arts of dancing and of music should submit to be instructed in the theory of measure and of harmony, and even to be trained in the gymnastic exercises; because these are all considered as the necessary means of obtaining perfection in their respective arts; and that those who aspire to the command of armies should be displeased to find, than an acquaintance in some degree with other sciences is necessary in their profession? Shall the men that exercise illiberal arts exert greater pains, and shew a stronger emulation to excel, than those who are ambitious to obtain distinction in the noblest and most splendid of all employments? There is no man of sense that will avow such sentiments. But enough has been said upon this subject.

CHAP. II.

THE greatest part of men form their opinion of the size of a camp, or of a city, only from the circumference. When they are told therefore that Megalopolis contains in circumference fifty stadia, and Lacedæmon no more than forty-eight, and yet that this last city is twice as large as the former, they know not how to believe it. And if

any one, designing to increase the surprise, should affirm that it is possible that a city or a camp, which contains only forty stadia in circumference, may be twice as large as another that contains a hundred stadia, they are struck with the greatest astonishment. The cause of this surprise is, that men forget those principles of geometry which they learned in their youth. And I was the rather inclined to take some notice of these matters, because not the vulgar alone, but some even of those who are employed in the administration of states, or placed at the head of armies, are sometimes astonished, and not able to conceive, that Lacedæmon is a much greater city than Megalopolis, though it be less in its circumference; and again in the same manner likewise are persuaded, that, by only viewing the circumference of a camp, they can easily determine the number of the troops which it contains. There is also another error in judging of cities, not unlike to that which has been mentioned. Many men imagine, that an unequal and hilly ground will contain more houses, than a ground that is flat and level. This however is not the truth. For the houses, being raised in a perpendicular line, form right angles, not with the declivity of the ground, but with the flat surface which lies below, and upon which the hills themselves also stand. This also may be learned from the very first elements of science. Suppose a number of houses to be so built upon the sides of a hill, as to rise to an equal height; it is manifest that the roofs of all of them together will form a surface exactly parallel and equal to the surface of the ground which lies under the foundations of the houses and the hill. Let this then serve as a lesson to those persons, who, though they are so ignorant as not to conceive how these things can be, are desirous of commanding armies, and of presiding in the government of states.

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

Agrigentum in Sicily described.

AGRIGENTUM excels almost all other cities not only in the advantages that have been mentioned, but in strength likewise, and especially in ornament and beauty. Situated at the distance of only eighteen stadia from the sea, it possesses all the conveniences which the sea procures. The whole circuit of the city is rendered uncommonly strong both by nature and art. For the walls are built upon a rock, which partly by nature, and partly from the labour of art, is very steep and broken. It is surrounded also by rivers on different sides. On the side towards the south, by a river of the same name as the city; and on the west and south-west, by that which is called the Hypsas. The citadel, which stands upon a hill on the north-east side, is secured all round the outside by a deep and inaccessible valley; and has one way only by which it may be entered from the city. On the summit of the hill is a temple dedicated to Minerva; and another to Jupiter Atabyrius, as at Rhodes. For as the Agrigentines were a colony from Rhodes, they gave to this deity, not improperly, the same appellation by which he was distinguished in the island from which they came. The city also itself, which is indeed in all respects magnificent, is adorned with porticos and with temples. Among these, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, though not finished, indeed, with so great splendour, is equal in size and in design to any of the temples of Greece.

EXTRACT THE SIXTH.

The discourse of Chlæneas, ambassador from the Ætolians to the Lacedæmonians; in which he inveighs against the conduct of the kings of Macedon. He is answered by Lyciscus, ambassador from the Acarnanians: who defends the Macedonians, and warns the assembly of the fatal consequences of bringing the Romans into Greece.

CHAP. I.

* * * "NOW, that the kings of Macedon have from the first been enemies to the liberties of Greece, there is no man, O Lacedæmonians, that will have the boldness to deny. Let me enter, however, into the proof of this fact. Among the various colonies of Greeks that migrated from Athens and from Chalcis, that of Olynthus was the first, both in consideration and in power. Philip, having subdued this city, ordered the inhabitants to be sold; and, by the terror of that example, not only obtained possession of all the other cities of Thrace, but forced Thessaly also to receive his yoke. Some time afterwards, when he had defeated the Athenians in battle, he displayed indeed great generosity after his victory; not from any desire of shewing kindness to the vanquished, for that was far from his intentions, but that others might be induced by such an instance of his clemency to submit themselves voluntarily to his commands. At that time, however, the power of your republic was so great, that it seemed probable that at some convenient season you would not fail to place yourselves at the head of all the states of Greece. He seized every occasion therefore of declaring war against you. He invaded your country with his armies: he wasted your lands, and destroyed your houses: and at last, having torn both cities and whole provinces from your dominion, he bestowed one part of the spoil upon the Argians; gave another to the Tegeans and the Megalopolitans; and

another to the Messenians; and shewed a willingness to gratify all mankind, if he could only do it with your loss. From him Alexander received the sovereignty. This prince again, being persuaded that, as long as Thebes remained, some little ray of hope might be still left to Greece, destroyed that city in the manner which is known to all. There is no need that I should enter into a particular detail of the conduct which his successors have held with respect to Greece. For no man is so little versed in the transactions of his country as not to have heard, that when Antipater had gained a complete victory in the Lamian war, he treated the Athenians, as well as the rest of the Greeks, with the greatest insult and indignity. For to such excess did he carry his oppression and injustice, that he appointed persons to hunt out the exiles; and to destroy in every city all those that had opposed his party, or were upon any account obnoxious to the house of Macedon. And thus many of those unhappy men, taken away by violence from the temples, and torn even from the altars, lost their lives in torture; while others were compelled to fly, and found no safety for themselves in any part of Greece. Ætolia alone afforded to some of them a place of refuge. The actions of Cassander and Demetrius, and those of Antigonus Gonatas, are still recent in the memory of all. Under these princes garrisons were established, and tyrants supported in every place. Not a single city was exempted from the name of servitude. But let me now pass on to that last action of Antigonus: which, while it is viewed without suspicion, may lead some of you perhaps to think that you owe an obligation to the Macedonians. Was it then to save the Achæan states that this prince took arms against you in the Social war? Or was it to free the Lacedæmonians from the tyranny of Cleomenes? By no means surely: it would be too great simplicity to suppose it. But he foresaw, that, if you ever should obtain the supreme command in Peloponnesus, his own kingdom would be exposed to danger. He had re-

marked also the great talents of Cleomenes; as well as the success with which fortune seemed to favour your designs. It was fear, therefore, on the one hand, and jealousy on the other, that urged him to enter Peloponnesus with an army; not to succour the inhabitants of that country, but to destroy your expectations, and to humble your growing power. If the Macedonians therefore, when they were masters of your city, did not suffer it to be pillaged; yet you ought not so much to love them on account of that kindness, as you ought to hate, and to consider them as your enemies, because they have been upon many occasions the only obstacle that prevented you from obtaining the sovereignty of Greece. With respect to the profligacy of the present Philip, this also is too notorious to need any long discussion. The ravages which he committed in the temple of Thermum are a sufficient proof of his impiety towards the gods: and his perfidious treatment of the Messenians his allies, an example no less evident of the cruelty of his disposition with respect to men. Now the Ætolians alone, of all the Greeks, had the courage openly to defy Antipater; and afford a refuge to those who had been rendered miserable by his injustice. The Ætolians alone opposed the invasion of Brennus and the barbarous Gauls. And lastly, they alone of all whom you invited were willing to assist you with their arms in recovering again that supreme dominion which your ancestors had held over the rest of Greece. But enough has been said upon this subject. With regard to the present deliberation, your votes indeed and your decrees must import a declaration of war. And yet it is by no means probable that a war will be the consequence. For it is not to be supposed that the Achæans, weakened as they are by former losses, will attempt to invade your territory: but rather, that they will esteem it as a favour from the gods, if, when they find themselves surrounded on every side by the Eleans and Messenians our allies, as well as by our armies, they may be able to preserve their own. I am persuaded likewise

that the ardour of Philip will be at last abated; when the Ætolians shall attack him upon land, and the Romans and king Attalus upon the sea. It is easy indeed to conjecture what will happen, from that which has already been experienced. For if this prince, when the Ætolians only were his enemies, was never able to subdue them; how is it to be imagined that he can maintain a war, in which so many different powers are combined against him?

"Thus then have I endeavoured to shew, that, even if you had not been bound by any treaty, and the matter had been still entire, you ought rather to join your arms with the Ætolians, than with the Macedonians. But since, in fact, you already are engaged, and have determined on the part that you would take, what room is there left for any more debate? If indeed the treaty which now subsists between you and us had been earlier than the kindness that was shewn towards you by Antigonus; there might then perhaps have been some pretence to doubt, whether, in favour of more recent benefits, you ought not to overlook in some degree your former obligations. But if, after you had received this so much boasted liberty and safety, these benefits with which you are continually reproached, you assembled your council to deliberate, whether you should enter into an alliance with the Ætolians or the Macedonians; if, after frequent consultation, you gave the preference to the former; if you confirmed your alliance with them by exchanging mutual pledges of fidelity; and even assisted them with your forces in the late war against the Macedonians; what reasonable doubt can now remain? By these transactions, your obligations to Antigonus and to Philip all were cancelled. It should therefore now be shewn, that, since that period, you either have received some injury from the Ætolians, or some new favour from the Macedonians. But since neither of these can be pretended, what folly is it to suppose, that, in violation of oaths and treaties, the very strongest bands

that unite mankind, you will now become confederates with a people, whose alliance you before rejected with justice, even when you might have embraced it without reproach."

Here Chlæneas ended his harangue, which seemed not easy to be refuted. Lyciscus, the ambassador of the Acarnanians, then came forwards in the assembly. For some time he paused; observing that the people were discoursing together on what they had heard. But as soon as they were silent, he began in the following manner.

CHAP. II.

"I AM sent to you, Lacedæmonians, by the states of Acarnania, on the part of that republic. But as we have been almost always joined together with the Macedonians in the same common hopes, we consider this embassy also as common both to them and to ourselves. For as, in the time of war, the superior strength and greatness of the Macedonian power has made our state to be dependent on the prowess of their arms; so, in the business of negociation likewise, the interests of the Acarnanians are by consequence included in the Macedonian rights. You will not therefore think it strange, if a great part of my discourse should be employed on Philip and the Macedonians.

"Chlæneas then, in the conclusion of his harangue, very shortly stated the nature of your present obligations. 'If,' said he, 'since the time when you entered into treaty with the Ætolians, you had either suffered any injury or insult from that people, or received any new kindness from the Macedonians, this matter would then perhaps have remained entire for your deliberation. But as nothing of that kind has happened, it is the very height of folly in us to believe, that, by alleging only those old benefits which you had before experienced from Antigonus, we can prevail upon you to violate oaths and treaties.' For my part,

indeed, I am ready to confess, that, if nothing new had happened, and if the affairs of Greece had remained still in the condition in which they stood when you concluded your alliance with the Ætolians, there would be great weakness in the attempt; and all that I am prepared to say would be impertinent and vain. But if things are now in a different state, as I shall shew in the progress of this discourse, you will then, I doubt not, be convinced, that I am able to point out to you your true interest, and that Chlæneas is unacquainted with it. For the sole design and purpose of this embassy is to demonstrate to you, if it be possible, from a view of the dangers with which Greece is threatened, that the part most suitable and advantageous, the part most honourable and most worthy for you to take, is to join yourselves now with us in the same common hopes: or, if that cannot be obtained, at least to remain quiet during these disputes. But since those who oppose us have dared to load the house of Macedon with various accusations from the earliest time; I must also first look backwards, and endeavour to remove the false persuasion of those persons, who may have yielded an implicit credit to all that they have heard.

"It was asserted then by Chlæneas, that Philip the son of Amyntas, having rendered himself master of Olynthus, took occasion from that success to reduce all Thessaly beneath his yoke. But I, on the contrary, affirm, that not the people of Thessaly alone, but all the rest of the Greeks were indebted to Philip for their safety. For when Onomarchus and Philomelus had taken Delphi, and seized with sacrilegious violence all the treasures of the god; who does not know, that their power appeared so formidable, that not a single state had the courage to stand before them: and that it was even feared, that this impious outrage would be soon followed also by the conquest of all Greece? At this time it was, that Philip offered himself uncalled; destroyed the tyrants; secured the temple against future insults; and preserved the Grecian liberty. That

this is the truth, the fact that followed will serve as a testimony to all posterity. For the Greeks, not regarding him as the oppressor of Thessaly, as Chlæneas had the confidence to affirm, but as the benefactor of all Greece, conferred an honour upon him which had no example, and with one voice declared him general of their armies both by land and sea. But Philip also invaded the Lacedæmonian territory with an army. Yet you all know, that it was not with any purpose of his own that he took this measure. But having been invited, and often called upon by name, by his allies and friends in Peloponnesus, he at last consented to it with reluctance. And what was his conduct, Chlæneas, after he arrived? Instead of complying with the desires, instead of gratifying the resentments of the neighbouring states, by wasting the lands, and humbling the power of Sparta, he forced his allies, as well as his enemies, to embrace such measures as the common interest required, and to submit their several pretensions to a fair discussion. Nor did he even assume to himself the right of judging in their disputes: but referred them all to the decision of the general states of Greece. How proper a subject is this for censure. Thus again, you have loaded Alexander with reproaches, because he inflicted that punishment upon the Thebans, which their ill conduct seemed to have deserved: but have passed over in silence, in what manner he revenged the injuries with which the Persians had insulted Greece: and that he delivered you all from the greatest evils, by conquering those barbarians, and by taking from them the riches which they had employed to corrupt the Greeks, and to set one state in war against another; sometimes the Athenians against the ancestors of these very Lacedæmonians, and sometimes again the Thebans; and, in a word, that he reduced all Asia beneath the Grecian yoke? And how is it that you have the confidence to mention likewise the succeeding princes; who, as conjunctures varied, have been the authors indeed of evil as well as of good to different people. But, whatever resent-

ment may be allowed upon this account to others, it never can be borne, that you, the Ætolians, should of all men be suffered to complain: you, by whom so many have been injured, and who never have been the occasion of good to any. For who were those, that invited Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, to assist them in dissolving the confederacy of the Achæan states? Who entered into treaty with Alexander of Epirus, to share with him the cities of Acarnania, and to sell the inhabitants as slaves? Was it not you? Who ever placed at the head of their armies such generals as your nation has employed? men, who dared to plunder even those sacred temples which have always been esteemed to be most secure from violence. Such was Timæus, who pillaged the temple of Neptune at Tænarum, and that of Diana at Lussi. Such were Pharycus and Policritus; the first of whom spoiled the temple of Juno at Argos, and the other that of Neptune in Mantinea. Such also were Lattabus and Nicostratus; who, with a perfidy equal to that of Gauls or Scythians, attacked the Bœotians in the midst of peace, when they were met together in their general assembly. Have the successors of Alexander ever committed outrages like these? Being conscious therefore that such actions can neither be defended nor excused, you now pretend to boast, that you withstood the irruption of the Gauls at Delphi, and were the means of preserving Greece. But if the Greeks owe any thing to the Ætolians on account of that single service, how greatly must they be indebted to the Macedonians, who employ continually their whole life and strength, in securing them against the efforts of barbarous nations? For who does not know, that Greece would be exposed to perpetual danger, if the zeal of the Macedonian kings, and the bulwark of their empire, were not our protection. Let me mention only one single instance. When the Gauls, after they had defeated Ptolemy surnamed Ceraunus, had no longer any cause to dread the Macedonians, they despised all other powers, and immediately led their army,

with Brennus at their head, into the very midst of Greece. The same misfortune must frequently have happened, if the Macedonians had not, in all times, been the barrier of this country. Much more might be urged concerning the transactions of those ancient times: but this that I have said may be sufficient. You object impiety to the second Philip, because he destroyed a single temple: but make no mention of the sacrilegious violence which yourselves had exercised against the holy shrines in Dium and Dodona, and against the edifices of the gods. And yet this should have been first recounted. But you, reciting only your own sufferings, and exaggerating them far beyond the bounds of truth, pass over in silence those much greater evils which you had before inflicted upon others; as well knowing, that, in the judgment of mankind, all subsequent injuries are with reason ascribed to those who set the first example of outrage and injustice. With respect to the conduct of Antigonus, I shall so far only mention it, that I may not appear to think too lightly of what was then transacted, or to set too small a value upon so great a service. A greater indeed is scarcely to be found in history. It was, in a word, an action that can never be surpassed. For consider it, Lacedæmonians, as it happened. Antigonus was engaged in war against you. He defeated your army in a set battle. Your city and all your territory were wholly in his power. It might then have been expected that he would have used all the rights of conquest. But so far was he from employing against you any act of hardship or oppression, that, on the contrary, beside other benefits, he drove out your tyrant, and restored again those laws, and that form of government, which your ancestors had established. In return for this great kindness, yourselves also publicly proclaimed him your benefactor and your preserver, in the presence of all the states of Greece. What then, O Lacedæmonians, should have been your conduct after such an action? Suffer me, I entreat you, to speak my sentiments with freedom: not for the sake of

loading you with any unseasonable reproach; but because the present conjuncture obliges me to declare what the common interest requires. What is it then that I must say? That, even in the former war, the Macedonians, and not the Ætolians, were the people with whom you should have joined your arms: and that now again, when you are invited, your alliance should be made with Philip, and not with the Ætolians. But this, it will be said, would be a violation of the faith of treaties. Which then is the greatest crime? to pay no regard to a convention which you concluded privately with the Ætolians; or to transgress a treaty that was ratified in the presence of all the Greeks; was inscribed upon a column; and consecrated with religious rites? And how is it that you are more afraid of slighting a people from whom you have received no benefit; than of being wanting in respect to Philip and the Macedonians, to whose favour you are indebted even for the power of holding this assembly? Can you think it necessary that you should satisfy your engagements with your friends; and not rather that you should discharge your obligations to those who have preserved you? To observe a written treaty, is certainly an action not so pious, as it is impious to take arms against those who have saved you from destruction. Yet this is what the Ætolians now solicit you to do. But I shall add no more upon this head. What I have already urged, may be thought perhaps, by those who judge according to their prejudices, to be too distant from the present subject. I return, therefore, to the principles that were first assumed; and to that which themselves acknowledge to be the chief point in this debate: That, if the affairs of Greece remain still in the same condition in which they stood when you concluded your alliance with the Ætolians, you ought to consider yourselves as bound by those engagements. But if, on the contrary, the state of things be entirely changed, you may then with justice deliberate freely on the part which you are now pressed to take. I ask you then, Cleonicus and

Chlæneas, who were then your allies, when you prevailed on the Lacedæmonians to act in conjunction with you? Were they not all Greeks? And with whom are you at this time joined? And into what confederacy do you now invite this people? Is it not into a confederacy with barbarians? Is the condition then of your affairs the same as before? Is it not entirely the reverse? At that time, you contended only for the honour of obtaining the supreme command in Greece, against others of the same race and country; the Achæans, and the Macedonians, with Philip at their head. But the end and tendency of the present war is to bring the Greeks themselves into a subjection to a foreign enemy: to an enemy whom, in appearance indeed, you have invited only to oppose the designs of Philip; but whom in fact you have armed, without perceiving it, both against yourselves, and against all the inhabitants of Greece. For, as it is often seen in the time of war that those who, with a view to their present safety, admit too strong a garrison within their walls, at the same time that they secure themselves against their enemies, become subject to the power of their friends; just so will it happen, from the conduct which the Ætolians now pursue. For, while their design is only to weaken Philip, and to humble the power of the Macedonians, they observe not, that the cloud which they are drawing hither from the west, though at first perhaps it may only darken Macedon, will in its progress shed the heaviest evils upon all the Greeks. It is the duty therefore of them all, to foresee in time the approaching storm: and upon none is this duty more incumbent than upon you, O Lacedæmonians. For what, do you suppose, were the sentiments of your ancestors, when they thrust into a well, and threw earth upon the head of the messenger that was sent to them by Xerxes to demand earth and water; and then bade him tell his master, that the Lacedæmonians had given him earth and water agreeably to his demand? What again was their intention, when Leonidas and all his army exposed themselves by their own free choice to

certain death? Was it not to declare, that the Lacedæmonians would stand the foremost, in maintaining not only their own liberty, but that also of all the Greeks? And shall now the descendants of men like these conclude a treaty with a barbarous nation; and join them in making war against the Epirots, the Achæans, the Acarnanians, the Bœotians, the Thessalians; in a word, against almost every people of Greece, except the Ætolians? Let the Ætolians themselves commit such baseness; for they are accustomed to think no action dishonourable, that can satisfy their desire of gain. But these are not the manners of the Lacedæmonians. And what may it not be expected that the Ætolians will attempt, when joined in an alliance with the Romans: they, who, with the assistance of the Illyrians only, made an attack upon Pylus from the sea, in contempt of treaties; and, by land, laid siege to Clitor, and carried the inhabitants of Cynætha into slavery? Can it be doubted that, as they before formed the project of sharing with Antigonus the cities of Acarnania and Achaia, they have now concluded a like agreement with the Romans with respect to the whole of Greece? Can any one be warned of such designs, and not dread the arrival of the Romans? And must we not detest that senseless profligacy, which has led the Ætolians into this alliance? They have already taken Naxus and Oeniade from the Acarnanians. Not long before, they attacked Anticyra in conjunction with the Romans. And when the city was subdued, the women and the children were carried away captives by the Romans, and reserved for all that wretchedness, which those who fall into the power of a foreign enemy are condemned to suffer; while the Ætolians divided the houses among themselves by lot. Is this then an alliance worthy to be approved? Or can the Lacedæmonians, above all others, determine to embrace it? those Lacedæmonians who, when the Persians invaded Greece, resolved by a public decree, that, as soon as they should have conquered the barbarians, they would devote a tenth part of the Thebans victims to

the Gods, because this people alone, though compelled by necessity to remain quiet, had taken no part in the war. Consider, therefore, I entreat you, what your own honour and your own dignity require. Let the remembrance of your ancestors, your apprehension of the power of the Romans, your jealousy of the pernicious conduct of the Ætolians, and, above the rest, your sense of the great kindness that was shewn towards you by Antigonus, prevail with you still to be the friends of virtuous actions. In a word, reject all alliance with the Ætolians, and join yourselves to the Achæans and the Macedonians. Or, if those who possess the greatest power among you should obstruct that measure, resolve to remain quiet in this conjuncture, and make not yourselves confederates in the unjust designs of the Ætolians."

EXTRACT THE SEVENTH.

The siege of Echinus by Philip.

PHILIP, having resolved to make his approaches against Echinus in the part of the two towers, ordered a tortoise and a battering-ram to be raised before each of them, and a gallery to be conducted from one ram to the other, opposite to the space that was between the towers, and parallel to the wall. The work, being completed according to this design, was in its form and aspect not unlike to the city. For as the buildings upon the tortoises, from the structure of the hurdles of which they were composed, had the figure and appearance of towers; so the gallery that was between, being formed into battlements at the top, bore no less resemblance to a wall. In the lowest part of these towers were placed some pioneers, who filled up the inequalities of the ground with earth, that the rollers might move freely. Here also the motions of the rams were regulated. Upon the second stage, together with some cata-

pults, there were vessels filled with water; and other preparations for securing the building against fire. Upon the third, which was equal in height to the towers of the city, stood a body of soldiers, ready to engage with those that should attempt to obstruct the motions of the rams. From the gallery that was between the towers two trenches were opened, and carried forwards to the wall of the city; and in these there were three batteries of balistæ; one of which threw stones of the weight of a talent, and the other two, stones of thirty pounds. From the camp to the towers on either side was a covered passage; that the soldiers might pass from the army to the works, or return back again from the works to the camp, without being exposed to the darts of the besieged. These works were all completed in very few days, because the country afforded all things that were necessary for the purpose in the greatest plenty. For Echinus is situated upon the Malian gulf, opposite to Thronium, and looks towards the south. The soil also around it is extremely fertile. Philip, therefore, was readily supplied with all things that were requisite for such an undertaking. And when he had completed his works in the manner that has been now described, he began without delay to attack the city.

EXTRACT THE EIGHTH.

The sources and course of the Euphrates.

THE river Euphrates has its sources in Armenia; and flowing from thence through Syria and the neighbouring country, passes on to Babylon. It is thought that it discharges itself at last into the Red sea. But this is not the truth. For it spends itself in channels which are cut through the country, and is exhausted before it can reach the sea. This river is different in two respects from almost all other rivers. The streams of other rivers are usually increased in proportion as they flow through a

larger tract of country. Their waters also are fullest in the winter, and lowest in the height of summer. But the Euphrates, on the contrary, is fullest at the time of the rising of the dog-star; is no where so large as in Syria; and in its farther progress is continually diminished. The cause of this difference is, that the increase of its waters is not made by the winter rains, but by the melting of the snows in summer. And the stream, as it advances, is diminished, by being turned aside, and divided into other streams, for the purpose of watering the country. From hence also it happens, that the transportation of armies down the Euphrates is in those parts extremely tedious; the vessels being so deeply loaded, and the river so low, that the force of the stream affords but little assistance in the navigation.

BOOK THE TENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

The advantages of Tarentum with respect to commerce.

ALONG that whole side of Italy which looks towards the sea of Sicily and the coasts of Greece, though the extent of it, from the straits of Rhegium to Tarentum, be more than two thousand stadia, there is not to be found a single harbour except that of the last mentioned city. But the country itself is inhabited by a very numerous people; composed partly of barbarians, and partly of some of the most considerable colonies from Greece. Among the former are the Brutians, the Lucanians, a part of the Samnites, the Calabrians, and many other nations. The Grecian cities are Rhegium, Caulonia, Locri, Croton, Metapontum, and Thurium. The merchants, therefore, that come from Greece to trade with any of the people who are situated along this coast, are obliged to bring their vessels into the harbour of Tarentum, and to make all their exchange and traffic in that city. It may be judged what great advantages must arise from such a situation, if we consider only the flourishing condition of the inhabitants of Croton. For this people, with the convenience only of some places which afford an anchorage in the summer, and which cannot be compared in any respect with the harbour of Tarentum, though they are visited but by a very small number of ships, have drawn to themselves great wealth. The advantages also of its situation, with respect to the ports of the Adriatic sea, are still very considerable; though not so great as in former times. For

before Brundusium was built, all the vessels that came from the opposite coast, which lies between Sipontum and the Iapygian promontory, towards this part of Italy, directed their course always to Tarentum, and used that city as the market for vending all their merchandize. Fabius, therefore, considering this passage as an object of great importance, neglected every other care, and employed all his thoughts to guard it.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The character of Publius Scipio illustrated by some of the earliest actions of his life. His expedition into Spain. He renders himself master of New Carthage. Instances of his humanity, moderation, and continence.

CHAP. I.

AS I am now going to relate the things that were performed by Publius Scipio in Spain, and to give also a short and general account of all the other actions of his life, it will first, I think, be necessary to lead the reader into some acquaintance with the character and the natural disposition of this commander. For as he has surpassed almost all that lived before him in the celebrity of his name, there are scarcely any that have not a desire to know what manner of man he was; and by what abilities, natural or acquired, he accomplished so many and such great exploits. But they are forced either to remain in ignorance, or to form at least a very false opinion concerning him, because the writers of his life have wandered themselves widely from the truth. That this censure is not ill grounded, will be manifest to every one who is able to consider with a just attention the account which I shall give even of the greatest and the most astonishing of all his actions.

These writers, then, have all of them concurred in representing Scipio to us as one of those favourites of

fortune, who, by a kind of spontaneous hazard, and in seeming opposition to the rules of reason, conduct all their undertakings to the desired end. They think that men of this sort have something in them more admirable and more divine than those who follow the guidance of reason in every action. They consider not that one of the things here mentioned is barely to be fortunate; and that the other is worthy of praise; that the first is common even to the most vulgar of mankind; while the latter is the portion of those alone who excel in sense and understanding: and that these last are to be regarded as approaching nearest to divine, and as the highest in favour of the gods.

To me it seems that there is a great resemblance, both in character and in conduct, between Scipio and Lycurgus the legislator of the Lacedæmonians. For it must not be imagined either that Lycurgus, by superstitiously consulting upon all occasions the Pythian priestess, was taught to frame the Spartan government; or that Scipio was directed by dreams and omens to those great actions which so much enlarged the empire of his country. But because they both were sensible that the greatest part of men are not easily engaged iu new and unusual designs, and fear to expose themselves to manifest danger, unless they have some reason to expect that they shall be assisted by the gods; the first, by joining the authority of the priestess to all that he proposed, rendered his own designs more worthy of credit, and more easy to be received; and the other, by cherishing an opinion in the multitude that he was supported in all his undertakings by a supernatural aid, inspired those that were under his command with greater confidence, and made them more eager to engage even in the most difficult attempts.

That this great commander was conducted in every action by sound sense and prudence, and that his undertakings always were attended with success, because in reason they deserved it, will sufficiently appear from the facts that will be hereafter mentioned. The generosity

and magnanimity that were so conspicuous in his character, are indeed acknowledged by all. But the readiness of his conception, the sobriety of his judgment, and the extreme attention with which his understanding was directed to the object which it had in view, have remained still unknown; or been known to those alone who lived in friendship with him, and had the opportunity of beholding him in the nearest light. Among those was Caius Lælius: who was a witness to all his words and actions from his childhood to his death. And he it was who first raised in me that opinion of this general which I now have mentioned. For all that he related to me concerning him was extremely probable, and perfectly consistent with the actions which he performed.

The first thing, as he informed me, which distinguished Scipio, was his behaviour at the time of the engagement between Annibal and his father with the cavalry near the river Po. He was then but seventeen years old: and, because this was his first campaign he was attended by a troop of select horsemen as a guard. In the battle, perceiving that his father, with only two or three of the cavalry, was inclosed by a large body of the enemy, and was already dangerously wounded, he at first exhorted his little troop to go to his assistance. And when these for some time hesitated, because the numbers that had surrounded the consul were so great, himself with the most desperate fury drove his horse into the middle of the combatants. His attendants also being then forced to join him in the charge, the whole body of the enemy was parted by the shock: and the consul, being thus unexpectedly rescued from destruction, was the first to proclaim aloud that he owed his preservation to his son. As by this action he acquired the reputation of a man whose courage was not to be doubted; so, in the subsequent parts of his life, whenever his country reposed all her hopes upon him, he was ready to throw himself without reserve into every kind of danger. This surely is not the

conduct of a man who trusts himself to fortune; but of a commander who is guided by sound sense and prudence.

Some time after this action, his elder brother Lucius was a candidate for the ædileship; which is one of the most honourable dignities among the Romans. The custom was, to elect two patricians into this office: and at this time there were many candidates. At first Scipio had not the confidence to offer himself a candidate for this magistracy in conjunction with his brother. But as the time of the election came near, perceiving that the people were not disposed to favour the interests of his brother, but that himself stood very high in their esteem, he judged that the only way of obtaining the ædileship for his brother would be that both of them should sue for it together. He employed therefore the following method. As his father was at this time gone to take the command in Spain, the consent of his mother alone was necessary to be gained. Observing then, that she was busied every day in visiting the temples, and in offering sacrifices to the gods in favour of his brother; and that her mind was filled with anxious expectation concerning the event; he told her, that he had dreamed the same dream twice. That it had seemed to him, that he was chosen ædile with his brother; and that, as they returned home from the forum together, she had met them at the door, and had embraced and kissed them. The female heart was touched in a moment by this story. Oh! she exclaimed, that I might but see that day! Do you consent then, mother, continued he, that we make the trial? And when she replied, that she consented; not suspecting, as he was then extremely young, that he would have the boldness to attempt it; but believing only that he spoke in jest; he ordered a white gown to be prepared, such as the candidates for offices are accustomed to wear. His mother reflected no more on what had passed. But Scipio, in the morning while she was asleep, for the first time put on the gown, and went into the forum. The people, struck with the unexpected sight,

and who before had entertained strong prejudices in his favour, received him with acclamations and applause. He advanced to the place in which the candidates were ranged; and, standing on the side of his brother, obtained not only his own election, but that of his brother also in consideration of himself. They then returned home together ædiles. The news being carried to the mother, she ran full of joy, and meeting them at the door, kissed both her sons with transport.

From this accident, an opinion prevailed among all who heard the story of these dreams, that Scipio, not only when he was asleep, but in his waking moments also, and in the time of day, held familiar converse with the gods. It was no dream, however, that gave him any assistance in this business. But being by nature generous, magnificent, and courteous in his address, he had before conciliated the favour of the multitude. Add to this, that he had also the skill to choose his proper time, both with the people and his mother. By these means it was, that he not only obtained his purpose; but was judged to have acted under the impulse of a divine admonition. For it is usual with men, who, through the fault of their own nature, and from a want either of activity or of skill, are unable to view distinctly the times, the causes, and the course of actions, to ascribe those events to the gods and fortune, which are accomplished only by the ready and dexterous management of sound sense and reason. I thought it necessary to make these reflections, that my readers might not be so far misled by the opinion which is falsely propagated concerning Scipio, as to overlook what was brightest and most admirable in his character: I mean his dexterity and his unwearied application to affairs. In how high a degree he possessed these qualities, will be more clearly seen from the transactions of the history, to which I now return.

CHAP. II.

SCIPIO, having assembled the troops together, exhorted them not to be disheartened by the loss which they had sustained. "That their defeat was by no means to be ascribed to the superior courage of the Carthaginians: but was occasioned only by the treachery of the Spaniards, and the imprudent division which the generals, reposing too great a confidence in the alliance of that people, had made of their forces. That the Carthaginians themselves were now in the same condition with respect to both these circumstances. For, besides that they were divided into separate camps, they had also alienated by injurious treatment the affections of their allies, and had rendered them their enemies. That from hence it had happened that one part of the Spaniards had already sent deputies to the Romans; and that the rest, as soon as the Romans should have passed the river, would hasten with alacrity to join them; not so much, indeed, from any motive of affection, as from a desire to revenge the insults which they had suffered from the Carthaginians. That there was still another circumstance, even of greater moment. That the dissension which prevailed among their leaders, would prevent the enemy from uniting their whole strength in an engagement: and, if they should venture on a battle with divided forces, that they would then most easily be defeated. That, with all these advantages in prospect; they should now, therefore, pass the river with the greatest confidence; and leave to himself, and to the rest of the commanders, the whole care of what was afterwards to be done."

After this discourse, he left Marcus, who was joined with him in the command, with a body of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, to protect the allies that were on this side of the Iberus; and then passed the river with the rest of the forces, having concealed from every person his

true intention. For he had determined not to do any of those things which he had suggested to the army. His real design was suddenly to invest New Carthage.

And here we may first remark a most signal proof of that peculiar disposition which I have ascribed to Scipio. For first, though he was now no more than twenty-seven years old, he took upon himself the conduct of a war, which, from the ill success that had attended it, all other persons had concluded to be desperate. In the next place, when he had engaged himself in this design, instead of pursuing the most obvious and common measures, he formed a plan of action, which was alike impenetrable to his own army, and unsuspected by the enemy. And with respect to both these points, he was determined by the most solid reasons. While he was still at Rome he informed himself of the true state of things, by a most careful and exact enquiry. And being assured that the treachery only of the Spaniards, and the division of the Roman armies, had occasioned the misfortune of his father, he neither feared the Carthaginians, nor yielded to that despondency with which others were possessed. When he was afterwards also told that the allies on this side of the Iberus remained still constant in the Roman friendship; that the Carthaginian generals were broken by dissensions; and that they treated the people who had submitted to them with great severity; he set out upon the expedition with full confidence of success; not building his expectations upon fortune, but upon the views which reason had suggested to him. As soon as he arrived in Spain, renewing his enquiries in every part with the greatest diligence, he was informed that the Carthaginian army was divided into three separate bodies. That Mago, at the head of one, was posted beyond the pillars of Hercules, in the territory of the Conians; that the second, under the command of Asdrubal the son of Gesco, was encamped in Lusitania, near the mouth of the river; that the other Asdrubal, with the third, was laying siege to a

town in the Carpetanian district; and that each of these different bodies was distant full ten days' march from the city of New Carthage. He considered, therefore, with himself, that, as it would be much too dangerous, both on account of the late defeats, and because the enemy also were far superior to him in their numbers, to venture on a set engagement against their united forces; so, on the other hand, if he should attack either of these separate bodies, there was reason to fear that, while the body attacked might retire and decline the fight, the rest also would be able to advance; and that, being thus inclosed on every side, he should fall into the same calamity which had been so fatal to his father and his uncle. Upon these considerations he rejected the design of an engagement, and turned all his thoughts towards New Carthage; a place which, as he very well knew, brought many advantages to the enemy, as well as great detriment to the Romans, in the progress of the war.

For, while he remained in winter quarters, having endeavoured to obtain from the prisoners a minute and particular knowledge of every thing that related to this city, he found that it was almost the only place upon the coast of Spain that afforded a harbour capable of receiving a fleet and naval forces; that it was so situated that the Carthaginians might pass over to it from Afric with the greatest ease; that large sums of money also, and all the baggage of the army, were at this time in it; together with all the hostages which the Carthaginians had taken from the cities of Spain. He learned likewise, what was still of greater importance, that the garrison consisted only of a thousand soldiers, appointed to defend the citadel. For it never had been conceived that, while the Carthaginians were masters of almost the whole of Spain, any attempt would be made to lay siege to this city. That the multitude of the other inhabitants indeed was very great; but that they were all artificers, labourers, or seamen; desti-

tute of all experience in the affairs of war; and who would rather facilitate than obstruct his attempt against the city, if he should appear unexpectedly before it. He knew the manner likewise in which the city was situated; the fortifications by which it was defended; and the nature of the lake that surrounded it. For some fishermen, who frequented the place, had informed him that the lake in general was marshy; and that it was also fordable as often as the tide retired, which usually happened every day near the time of evening. From all these circumstances he concluded that success in this attempt would not only bring a heavy loss upon the enemy, but tend greatly to advance his own affairs; and that if he should fail, he might at least be able, as he was master of the sea, to withdraw the troops in safety; taking care only to secure his camp against any insult. And this it would be easy to accomplish, because the forces of the enemy were at so great a distance. Laying aside, therefore, all other thoughts, he employed himself, while he was in winter quarters, in making preparations for the siege. And though he had formed so great a design, and was only of the age that has been mentioned, he concealed his intention from every person, except from Caius Lælius, till the time came in which he judged it necessary to disclose it.

Now it is generally acknowledged by historians, that these were the reasons which determined the conduct of Scipio upon this occasion. And yet when they had gone thus far, they, in the end, I know not how, ascribe the success that followed not to the prudence of the commander, but to the interposition of the gods and fortune. But this opinion, as it is destitute of all support from probability, or from the testimony of those who lived at the time, is refuted also by the letters which Scipio himself wrote to Philip; in which he expressly declares, that in every thing that concerned his expedition into Spain, and more particularly in his resolution to attack New Car-

thage, he was determined wholly by those considerations which have been here recited. Let us now attend to the siege.

CHAP. III.

SCIPIO then, having given secret orders to Caius Lælius, who alone, as we have said, was acquainted with his design, to sail to New Carthage with the fleet, began his march with the land forces, and advanced with the greatest haste. His army consisted of twenty-five thousand foot, and of two thousand and five hundred horse. After seven days' march he arrived and encamped on the side of the city that looked towards the north. The hinder part of the camp he fortified with a ditch and a double intrenchment, which was drawn from one sea to the other. The side that was towards the city he left without any fortification, because the nature of the place alone sufficiently secured it against all insult. But before we enter into a particular description of the siege, it will be proper to give the reader some conception of the manner in which the city was situated, and the country that was round it.

New Carthage then is situate near the middle of the coast of Spain, upon a gulf that looks towards the south-west, and which contains in length about twenty stadia, and about ten stadia in breadth at the first entrance. The whole of this gulf is a perfect harbour. For an island lying at the mouth of it, and which leaves on either side a very narrow passage, receives all the waves of the sea; so that the gulf remains entirely calm; except only that its waters are sometimes agitated by the south-west winds blowing through those passages. All the other winds are intercepted by the land, which incloses it on every side. In the inmost part of the gulf stands a mountain in form of a peninsula, upon which the city is built. It is sur-

rounded by the sea, upon the east and south; and on the west by a lake, which is extended also so far towards the north, that the rest of the space, which lies between the lake and the sea, and which joins the city to the continent, contains only two stadia in breadth. The middle part of the city is flat; and has a level approach to it from the sea, on the side towards the south. The other parts are surrounded by hills, two of which are very high and rough; and the other three, though much less lofty, are full of cavities, and difficult of approach. Of the former two, the largest is that which stands on the side of the east. It extends itself into the sea, and has a temple consecrated to Æsculapius upon the top. The other is in like manner situated opposite to the former upon the west. Upon this last is a magnificent and royal place, which was built by Asdrubal, when he designed, as it is said, to declare himself sovereign of the country. The other three hills, which are of smaller size, inclose the city on the side towards the north. The first of these, which stands nearest to the east, has the appellation of Vulcan. The second, that of Aletes; who is said to have obtained divine honours, from having first discovered the silver mines. The third is called the hill of Saturn. For the conveniency of those who use the sea, a communication is made by art between the lake and the sea. And across the narrow channel, which joins the two together, there is also a bridge, which serves for the passage of carriages and beasts of burden, as they come loaded with necessaries from the country in the city. By this situation of the places, the front of the Roman camp was secure without any fortification; being covered by the lake and the sea. Even in the part that was opposite to the narrow neck that ran between the lake and the sea, and which joined the city to the continent, Scipio had neglected to throw up any intrenchment; either because, by thus leaving the very middle of his camp open, he designed to intimidate the enemy; or that, when he should be ready to attack the

city, he might advance, and return back again to his camp, without any impediment. This city formerly contained not more than twenty stadia in circumference. Many writers indeed affirm it to have been forty. But in this they are mistaken. For my own part, I can speak of this matter with assurance. For I take not my account from what I have heard; but have myself seen and examined the place. At this time the circumference is less.

The fleet then being arrived at a proper time, Scipio assembled the troops together, and explained to them the reasons that had determined him to engage in the present undertaking, and which were no other than those that have now been mentioned. He shewed them, that the enterprise itself was practicable. And having enumerated all the advantages which would arise to themselves from this conquest, together with the great loss which the enemy would sustain, he promised crowns of gold to those who should first mount upon the walls, and the other customary rewards to all who should perform any signal service in the attack. In the end he told them, that the design had first been suggested to him by Neptune: who stood near him as he slept; and promised that he would so visibly assist him in the very time of the action, that the whole army should acknowledge the efficacy of his presence. The justness of the reasons that appeared in this discourse, the promise of the golden crowns, and, above all the rest, the expected assistance of the god, raised in all the soldiers the highest ardour and alacrity.

On the following day, having stored the fleet with missile weapons of every kind, he ordered Lælius, who commanded it, to press the city on the side of the sea. By land, he collected two thousand of the strongest soldiers, together with the men who carried the ladders, and advanced to the assault about the third hour of the day. Mago, who commanded in the city, divided the garrison of a thousand men, and, leaving one half in the citadel,

drew up the rest in order of battle upon the hill that stood towards the east. He stationed also two thousand of the citizens, to whom he had given the arms that were in the city, near the gate that led to the narrow neck, which joined the city to the continent, and which was opposite to the Roman camp. The rest of the inhabitants were ordered to assist with their utmost strength, in every part in which the walls should be attacked.

As soon as the Roman trumpets had given the signal for the assault, Mago ordered the two thousand citizens to advance through the gate; being persuaded that he should strike a terror into the enemy, and force them to desist from their design. They advance accordingly, and vigorously charge the Romans, who were drawn up in battle between their camp and the isthmus. At first the engagement was extremely fierce; and vehement cries were made on either side, as the numbers increased that came both from the city and from the camp. But the assistance that was sent to either side was very unequal; the Carthaginian succours coming only through a single gate, and having the length of two stadia also to pass; while the Romans on the contrary were near to the place, and poured in their troops from every side. For Scipio had designedly ranged his forces in battle near to the camp, that he might draw the enemy to a greater distance from the city: as well knowing, that if this body, which was the very strength of the inhabitants, should be once defeated, the whole city would be thrown into so great confusion, that none would afterwards dare to appear without the walls. As the combatants however were all chosen men, the victory remained for some time doubtful. But the Carthaginians, unable to sustain the weight of the Romans, who came continually from the camp, were at last forced to fly. Many of them fell in the engagement, and in their flight. But the greatest part were crushed, as they entered together in crowds through the gate. The inhabitants, on the sight of this defeat, were so struck with

consternation, that they immediately abandoned the walls: and the Romans, who indeed had almost entered the city with those that fled, fixed their ladders in full security.

In this action, Scipio himself was present; but used all the caution that was possible, with respect to his person. For he was attended by three soldiers carrying bucklers; who, when any thing was thrown from the walls, joined their bucklers together, and covered him from the danger. Under this protection, moving from side to side, or placing himself upon some eminence, he greatly promoted the success of the action. For, as by this method, he saw every thing that passed, so, being seen also by all the army, he inspired the combatants with courage. From hence also it happened, that nothing that was necessary was neglected in the course of the engagement; and that whatever the occasion suggested to him was immediately carried into execution.

The Romans, who began now to mount the ladders with the greatest confidence, found much less danger in the resistance of the enemy than from the height of the walls. The difficulties indeed which this alone occasioned were so great, that the besieged began to resume their courage. For some of the ladders, being of so large a size as to admit many to ascend together, were broken by the weight. Upon others, the first who mounted lost their sight upon so great a height; and, as soon as they were opposed by the least resistance, threw themselves headlong down. When any beams also, or other things of the same kind, were thrown from the battlements, whole bodies of men were torn away together, and carried to the ground. These difficulties, however, though so many and so great, were none of them sufficient to restrain the ardour and the impetuosity of the Romans. No sooner were the first thrown down, than those who followed immediately ascended into the vacant place. But as the day began now to decline, and the soldiers were almost exhausted by

fatigue, the general ordered the trumpets to sound the signal of retreat.

The besieged, persuading themselves that they had repelled the danger, began to exult with joy. But Scipio, expecting now the time when the sea would retire, stationed five hundred men, together with ladders, upon the border of the lake. At the same time he selected also a body of fresh troops; and, having exhorted them to perform their duty, he sent them again towards the gate upon the isthmus, and gave them a greater number of ladders than before, that the whole length of the walls might be attacked. When the signal then was made, and the troops began to ascend the ladders in every part, the inhabitants within were thrown into the greatest confusion and disorder. At the very time when they conceived that they had nothing left to dread, behold a new danger just beginning from a new assault. Their darts also began to fail: and the numbers of men which they had already lost had sunk their courage. Their embarrassment therefore was very great. They defended themselves however against the assailants with their utmost strength.

While this contest was at the height, the tide began to retire, and left only a very shallow water upon the upper side of the lake: at the same time running through the mouth of it, into the adjoining sea, with such rapidity and force, that those who were unacquainted with the nature of the thing, regarded it as a kind of miracle. Scipio, who had some guides also ready, exhorted the troops that were selected for this service, to enter the lake, and to fear nothing. For this, among his other talents, was that in which this general principally excelled; the art of inspiring his troops with courage, and of making them feel all the passions which his discourse endeavoured to infuse. They immediately obeyed his orders, and pushed their way with eagerness through the lake; the whole army being persuaded, that what they had beheld was undoubtedly the work of some divinity. It was now that they

remembered what Scipio had said to them in his harangue, concerning the interposition of Neptune in their favour. Animated therefore by this persuasion, one part of them formed the tortoise; and, advancing with impetuosity to the gate, began to break it with bars and hatchets; while the rest, as they approached the walls, finding the battlements deserted, not only fixed their ladders in full security, but gained also the top of the wall without any resistance. For, as the besieged, not having any suspicion that the city ever could be approached on the side of the lake, were wholly employed in other parts, and especially near the gate that led to the isthmus; so the cries also, and the confusion, that arose from the disordered multitude, prevented them from hearing, or discerning any thing that was proper to be done. The Romans ran from side to side upon the walls, in order to attract the enemy: a kind of service, which the manner in which they are armed enables them to perform with singular dexterity. And when they arrived at the gate, they descended, and breaking the bars, gave entrance to those that were without. The body that had attempted to scale the walls on the side towards the isthmus, had now also gained the battlements. Thus the whole walls were at last in the possession of the Romans. The hill likewise, that stood on the eastern side of the city, was seized by a part of those who entered through the gate, and who attacked and routed the Carthaginians that were left to guard it.

As soon as a sufficient number of the troops had entered, Scipio sent away the greatest part to destroy the inhabitants; commanding them to kill all that they should meet, without sparing any; and not attempt to pillage till they should receive the signal. Such is the custom among the Romans when they have taken a city by storm. And their design, as I suppose, is to strike the greater terror. It is common, therefore, to see not men alone lying slaughtered, but dogs also cut in two, and other animals

divided limb from limb. Upon the present occasion especially, there was much of this kind of carnage, because the numbers that were in the place were great. The general himself then marched with a thousand men to attack the citadel. At his first approach, Mago seemed determined to make some resistance. But when he had considered that the city was entirely in the power of the Romans, he sent and obtained a promise of safety for himself, and delivered up the citadel. The signal being then made, the slaughter ceased, and the pillage was begun. When night came on, those who had received such orders remained in the camp. The general, with his thousand men, was lodged in the citadel. The rest of the soldiers, having been called out of the houses by the tribunes, were ordered to bring the booty, all of them in their several cohorts, into the forum, and to guard it during the night. The light-armed forces were drawn from the camp, and were posted upon the hill that was on the eastern side. In this manner the Romans became masters of the city of New Carthage in Spain.

CHAP. IV.

ON the following day, the baggage of the Carthaginian garrison, and all that had been taken both from the citizens and the artificers, being collected together in the forum, was distributed by the tribunes among the respective legions, according to the usual custom of the Romans. The method which this people observe, when they have taken a city, is this. They every day select, for the purpose of pillage, a certain number of cohorts, according to the size of the city; taking care always, that not more than half of the forces be employed in this work. The rest all remain in their several posts; either within or without the city, as occasion requires. As their armies usually are composed of two Roman legions with an equal number of allies, and sometimes, though but rarely, of

four legions; the men, who are employed in pillaging, bring all the booty, each of them to his respective legion. A sale is then made of all that has been taken; and the money divided by the tribunes into equal shares, which are allotted to all alike: not only to those who were stationed under arms in the several posts; but to those that were left in the camp; to the sick likewise; and even to those that had been sent away from the camp upon any distant service. And that no part of the plunder may be concealed, the soldiers, before they begin to march, and at the time of their first encampment, are obliged to swear, that whatever they shall take from the enemy they will bring faithfully to the camp: as we have already more particularly mentioned, in our discourse on the Roman government. Now by this precaution, of employing one half of the army only in the pillage, while the rest remain under arms in the several posts, the Romans are secured from any danger that might happen to them from the greediness of the soldiers. For as the hope of having a share in the booty is never lost to any of the troops, but remains as certain to those who are fixed in the several posts as to those who are employed in pillaging; every man remains quiet in his station; whereas, among other nations, a contrary method is frequently attended with very fatal consequences. So powerful is the desire of gain that, in general, it is this alone which encourages men to suffer hardships, or to throw themselves into dangers. When occasions, therefore, of this kind arise, it is not to be supposed that those who are left in the camp, or stationed in any post, will contentedly forego the opportunity that is offered; if every man, as the custom is in almost all other armies, be allowed to retain the booty which he takes. For though a prince perhaps, or a general, may at such times give the strictest orders for bringing all the spoil together in a common heap; yet, whatever the soldiers are able to conceal they are accustomed to consider as their own. And while they all pursue this object with-

an ardour which it is not possible to restrain, the safety of the whole is often brought into the greatest danger. Very frequently it has been seen, that commanders, when they have succeeded in their first design, and have either taken a city, or forced their way into the camp of the enemy, have, from this single cause alone, not only lost all the fruits of their victory, but even suffered an entire defeat. There is nothing, therefore, that more deserves the foresight and attention of the leader of an army than to make such provision, that all the troops may be assured of obtaining an equal share of the plunder upon these occasions.

While the tribunes were employed in making a distribution of the spoil, the general, having ordered all the prisoners, who were not much fewer than ten thousand men, to be brought before him, divided them into two separate bodies. In the first were the free citizens, together with their wives and children: and the artificers of the city in the other. Having exhorted the former to embrace the friendship of the Romans, and to bear in remembrance the favour which they now received, he dismissed them to their several habitations. A deliverance so unexpected melted them into tears of joy. They prostrated themselves before him, and retired. He then told the artificers that for the present they were the public slaves of the Roman people: but that, if they would shew an affection towards this people, and serve them with alacrity in their respective trades, they might be assured of obtaining their freedom, as soon as the war with Carthage should be brought to a happy end. He then ordered them to be inrolled by the quæstor; and having divided them into bands of thirty men, appointed a Roman to take the charge of every band. The whole number amounted to about two thousand men. From the rest of the prisoners he selected those that were in the vigour of their age, and of the strongest bodies, and joining them to his naval forces, so that the whole now consisted of a half part more

than double the former number, he not only furnished the ships that had been taken from the enemy, but allotted to every vessel in the fleet almost twice as many seamen as they had before. For the vessels that were taken were eighteen in number; and his own fleet consisted of thirty-five. To these men, likewise, upon condition that they would only discharge their duty with diligence and zeal, he gave the same assurance of their freedom as soon as the Carthaginians should be conquered. In this manner, by his indulgent treatment he entirely gained the confidence of the citizens, and secured their affection both to himself and to the common cause. The artificers, encouraged by the hopes of freedom, applied themselves to their work with the greatest cheerfulness. And the fleet, by the prudent disposition which he made, was increased in the proportion that has been mentioned.

When this business was finished, he separated Mago, and the other Carthaginians that were of rank, from the rest. For among those that were taken, there were two that were of the council of the ancients, and fifteen of the senate. All these he committed to the care of Lælius; and ordered them to be treated with particular attention. He then commanded all the hostages, who were in number more than three hundred, to be brought before him. And calling the children to him one by one, he caressed and soothed them; telling them that in a short time they should see their parents. The rest he ordered to write to their several cities that they were safe and well; and that they should soon be permitted to return to their respective habitations, if their friends would only consent to embrace the alliance of the Romans. With these words, having before selected from the spoil what was most proper for his design, he presented all of them with such ornaments as were suitable to their sex and age. To the girls he gave bracelets and little pictures; and swords and poniards to the young men and boys.

At this time, one of the female captives, the wife of

Mandonius, who was the brother of Andobalis, king of the Ilergetes, fell at his feet, and entreated him with tears to give such orders concerning the women that were prisoners, that they might obtain more decent treatment than they had experienced from the Carthaginians. Scipio was moved at this sight: for the woman was advanced in years, and had something venerable in her appearance. He asked her therefore, whether they were in want of any necessaries. And when she made no answer, he ordered those that were appointed to take care of the women to be called; and was told by them, that the Carthaginians had always furnished them with necessaries in the greatest plenty. But as she still embraced his knees, and continued to repeat the same request, Scipio, being more perplexed, and suspecting that the men had told him an untruth, and had undoubtedly been negligent in their charge, bade her and the rest of the women take courage; and assured them, that he would appoint other persons, who should take care that they should be in want of nothing. You understand not our request, replied the woman after a little silence, if you think that we are thus importunate with you for the sake of meat and drink. In a moment Scipio understood her meaning: and, when he saw before him the daughters of Andobalis, and of many other princes, all in the flower of their age, he was unable to refrain from tears. The whole distress of their condition was disclosed to him by a single word. He signified therefore to the woman, that he now knew perfectly what she intended: and taking her by the hand, he again bade her to take courage, and all the rest that were with her: assuring them, that he would be no less careful of them, than if they were his own sisters or his daughters; and that he would give them in charge to persons of approved fidelity, whose behaviour should agree with this assurance.

After this, he delivered to the quæstors all the public money that had been taken from the Carthaginians. The amount of it was more than six hundred talents. He had

brought also with him from Rome four hundred: so that, with both sums together, he had now more than a thousand talents, to defray the expences of the war.

About the same time also it was, that some young soldiers, having found a virgin of a most uncommon bloom and beauty, and knowing that Scipio was inclined to the love of women, brought and placed her before him, and entreated him to receive her as a present. Scipio was struck with the sight; and, having expressed his admiration of her beauty, "If I were a private man," said he, "you could not have offered to me a more acceptable present; but in the station in which I am now placed, it is quite otherwise." Intimating, as I suppose, by this discourse, that, in the hours of leisure and repose, young men may sometimes agreeably amuse themselves with these enjoyments; but that, in seasons of business, the activity both of the mind and body is too much obstructed by such indulgence. He therefore thanked the soldiers; and having called the father of the virgin, he delivered her into his hands, and exhorted him to marry her to any one of her own citizens whom he should choose. By this instance of his continence and moderation, the character of Scipio was raised high in the opinion of all who were under his command.

When he had thus regulated all things, and committed the rest of the prisoners to the care of the tribunes, he sent Lælius, with the Carthaginians, and some others of the most eminent rank that were taken, in a quinquereme to Rome, to carry the news of this success. For he very well knew, that as the affairs of Spain had been considered as almost desperate, an account of this important conquest could not fail to infuse new courage into the people, and engage them to apply themselves with much greater earnestness to the business of the war. With respect to himself, remaining for some time in New Carthage, he exercised continually the naval forces; and instructed the tri-

bunes also to exercise the land army in the following manner.

On the first day, the legions were commanded to run the space of thirty stadia with their arms. On the second, to scour and brighten their arms, and to examine in open view their whole armour. The third day was allotted to relaxation and repose. On the fourth, they fought together with wooden swords cased with leather, and guarded with a button at the end; and threw javelins, which were covered also with a button. On the fifth day, they returned again to the same course of running with which they had begun.

He employed also a principal part of his attention upon the artificers, that the arms might be finished in the completest manner, both for the exercises in the field, and for real service. With this view, he not only appointed skilful men to regulate the workmen, as we have already mentioned, but himself went every day among them, and saw that they were supplied with necessaries. And thus, while the legions were exercising themselves continually before the walls, and the naval forces upon the sea contending together in rowing and in mock engagements; while the workmen in the city were sharpening weapons, or labouring in brass and wood; and, in a word, while all without exception were employed in preparing arms; whoever had beheld the sight, might have observed in the words of Xenophon, that this city was in truth the very working-shop of war. When all things seemed at last to be in the condition which he desired, and the troops were perfect in their exercise; having secured the city also by placing guards, and making the fortifications that were necessary, he put both the army and the fleet in motion, and began his march towards Taraco, carrying the hostages also with him.

The motions which Scipio judged to be most useful for the cavalry upon all occasions, and in which he com-

manded them to be exercised, were these. To turn every man singly his horse to the left, and again to the right, and then to make him fall back. With respect to whole troops, they were also taught to turn to one side at once, and to recover again their first position: to turn their backs to the enemy in two motions, and to face about again in three: to make little bodies of ten or of twenty men, go off with speed from the wings, or sometimes from the centre; and return again to their place in the main body without breaking their ranks: to extend themselves upon the wings, in order to prevent the camp from being attacked, or to cover the rear of the army. The breaking of the whole body into loose and separate bands, was a thing which he thought deserved but little attention; because it was nothing more than the order into which troops would naturally fall upon a march. In the last place, they were instructed so to advance against the enemy, or to retire again, in all the different movements, that, even when running with full speed, they might keep their ranks entire, and preserve the same distance between the troops. For his opinion was, that nothing was more dangerous or fatal, than for a body of cavalry to charge with disordered ranks.

When he had communicated these instructions to the officers and soldiers, he afterwards went round to the several cities, and examined, in the first place, whether the men comprehended his plan of discipline; and, secondly, whether those who commanded in the cities were clear and perfect in their manner of teaching it. For he judged that the success of this new method would principally depend upon the skill of the particular commanders. As soon as every thing was perfected, he drew out all the cavalry from the cities to one place; and himself directed them in all the movements, and made them perform the whole exercise in his presence. Nor did he, upon this occasion, take his station at the head of all the troops, as the generals of this age are accustomed to do; imagining that the fore-

most place is the proper place for a commander. But in truth they both shew a want of judgment, and bring much disadvantage upon the service itself, by choosing a post, in which, while they are seen by every one, they can themselves see nothing. For the business in question, at such a time, is not to display the power and dignity of the commander, but to shew ability and skill; to attend to the soldiers in all their movements; and, for this purpose, to be sometimes at the head, sometimes again in the rear of all, and sometimes in the centre. It was thus that Scipio acted. He rode from rank to rank, and saw all the troops himself. He instructed those that were less ready; and corrected in the beginning whatever was amiss. But as so great attention had been used before in exercising each particular body, the mistakes that now appeared were very few and inconsiderable. For this indeed, as Demetrius Phalereus has very justly observed, is the only method that can render a body of troops perfect in their discipline. As a building, says this writer, will be firm and solid, if every scantling, and every joint, and each single apartment, has been disposed and finished with the necessary care; so an army likewise will have its proper strength, when every troop, and every soldier, have first been separately trained, and rendered perfect in their duty.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

An observation on the policy of the Romans with respect to Greece.

THE present state of things very much resembled, it was said, the disposition of an army drawn up in battle. Upon such occasions the light-armed and most active of the troops are placed always in front, and are the first attacked; but the event of the battle is decided by the phalanx of heavy forces that stand behind them. In the same

manner the Ætolians, and the people of Peloponnesus their allies, are now first exposed to danger; while the Romans, like the phalanx, keep themselves in reserve. If the first should be defeated, the latter will withdraw themselves in safety from the fray. But if they should be victorious, which the gods avert, the Romans will then be able to subdue not only the Ætolians, but all the rest also of the people of Greece.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

A description of Ecbatana, the capital city of Media. The expedition of Antiochus against Arsaces.

MEDIA is the most powerful of all the kingdoms of Asia; whether we consider the extent of the country, or the numbers and goodness of the men, and also of the horses, which are there produced. For these animals are found in it in so great plenty, that almost all the rest of Asia is supplied with them from this province. It is here also that the royal horses are always fed, on account of the excellence of the pasture. The whole borders of the province are covered with Grecian cities; which were built as a check upon the neighbouring barbarians, after the country had been subdued by Alexander. Ecbatana only is not one of these. This city stands on the north side of Media, and commands all that part of Asia which lies along the Mœotis and the Euxine sea. It was, even from the most ancient times, the seat of the royal residence; and seems, in splendour and magnificence, very greatly to have exceeded all other cities. It is built on the declivity of the mountain Orontes; and not inclosed with any walls. But there is a citadel in it, the fortifications of which are of most wonderful strength: and below the citadel stands the palace of the Persian kings. With respect to other particulars I am in doubt whether I should speak, or be entirely silent. To those who love exaggeration, and to

strike their readers with something wonderful in their descriptions, this city would afford ample matter for such digression. But others, who go not without great diffidence into things that exceed the common apprehension, will, for this very reason, be the more perplexed. Thus much, however, I shall say. The palace contained seven stadia in circumference. And the magnificence of the structure in every part was such as must have raised a very high opinion of the wealth and power of those who built it. For though the wood was all of cedar, or of cypress, no part of it was left naked: but the beams, the roofs, and the pillars that supported the porticos and peristyles were all covered, some with plates of silver, and some of gold. The tiles likewise were all of silver. The greatest part of these riches was carried away by the Macedonians who attended Alexander: and the rest was pillaged in the reigns of Antigonus and Seleucus. At this time, however, when Antiochus arrived, there were still remaining in the temple of Æna some pillars cased with gold, and a large quantity of silver tiles laid together in a heap. There were also some few wedges of gold, and a much greater number of silver. These were now coined into money with the royal stamp; and amounted to the sum of almost four thousand talents.

Arsaces had expected that Antiochus would advance as far as to this city; but was persuaded that he never would attempt to lead so great an army through the desert that was beyond it: especially because he could not fail of being in great want of water. For, in these parts, no water is ever seen above the surface of the ground. But, through the whole of the desert, there are many subterraneous wells and streams, which are known only to those who are acquainted with the country. The account which the inhabitants give of these are true: that the Persians, when they were masters of that part of Asia, gave to those who brought a stream of water into places in which there was none before, the free inheritance of the ground for five

generations; and that the natives, encouraged by this advantage, spared no labour or expence to bring the water, which falls from mount Caucasus in many large streams, through subterraneous channels to a very great distance; so that, in the present times, those who use the waters know not the beginning, nor the course, of the channels through which they flow. When Arsaces saw, however, that the king had determined to pass through the desert, he ordered the wells to be broken and filled up. But Antiochus, being informed of this design, sent away Nicomedes with a thousand horse; who, finding on his arrival that Arsaces had retreated, and that a small body of cavalry only was employed in stopping the mouths of the streams, forced them to fly upon his first approach, and returned back again to Antiochus.

The king, having passed the desert, arrived at Hecatompylus, a city situated in the middle of the Parthian territory, and which takes its name from the great number of roads which lead from it into all the neighbouring parts. In this place he allowed the army some time to rest. And when he had considered with himself, that, if Arsaces had been inclined to venture on a battle, he never would have left his country, or have looked for any ground more proper for his own army than that which lay round Hecatompylus; and that it was evident from his retreat that he had no such design; he resolved to advance into Hyrcania. Arriving at Tagæ, and being informed by the inhabitants that the whole way leading to the summit of the mountain Labutas, which overlooked Hyrcania, was extremely difficult, and that great numbers of barbarians also had already possessed themselves of all the passes; he divided his light-armed forces into many little bodies, and sent them away under different leaders, assigning to each the route which they should take. The pioneers of the army were separated also into little bands; and were ordered to attend the light-armed troops, and, in every part, as they arrived, to make the ascent practicable for the heavy forces, and

the beasts that were loaded with the baggage. When he had made this disposition, he gave to Diogenes the van of the army; which was composed of archers and slingers, and those mountaineers who are very skilful in throwing darts or stones; and who, not keeping any rank, but engaging man with man, as time and place may require, perform the greatest service in such difficult passes. Next to these marched a body of two thousand Cretans, armed with bucklers, and led by Polyxenidas of Rhodes. And in the rear of all were the heavy forces under the command of Nicomedes of Cos, and Nicolaus an Ætolian.

As the army advanced, the way was found to be much more rough and difficult than it had been before conceived. For as the whole length of the ascent was not less than three hundred stadia, so the greatest part of the way also was through a deep and hollow road, formed by the winter torrents, and filled with trees and fragments of rocks which had fallen from the mountains that hung over it. The barbarians, likewise, not only had increased these difficulties, by laying trees together in heaps, and stones of the largest size; but had spread themselves upon all the eminences that were most proper for their purpose, along the whole border of the road. And, indeed, if they had not wholly been mistaken in their judgment, the king must have been forced to desist from his design. For having persuaded themselves, that the whole army must necessarily pass along this road, they had taken the measures that were most agreeable to this persuasion, and secured the posts that were most proper for defending the passage. But they never had considered, that, though the baggage and the heavy forces must pass indeed along this way, because it was not possible for them to ascend the neighbouring mountains, yet the light-armed troops might advance along the very summit of the rocks. No sooner, therefore, was the first of their posts attacked, than the whole face of things was entirely changed. For Diogenes, perceiving in the very first conflict what was necessary to

be done, led his troops out of the hollow-way, and having gained the heights that were above the enemy, galled them with darts and stones. The stones especially, that were discharged by the slingers from a considerable distance, spread among them so great disorder, that they were forced to abandon their post. The pioneers then cleared the ground in full security; and as the number of them was great, this task was soon accomplished. And thus, as the archers and slingers, with the rest of the light-armed troops, still continued to advance; sometimes spreading themselves along the sides of the rocks, and sometimes uniting in a body, and seizing all the advantageous posts; while the Cretans, as a reserve, marched slowly and in good order through the hollow road; the barbarians, unable to sustain these different attacks, abandoned their several stations, and retreated together to the top of the mountain. In this manner, Antiochus at last conducted his army through the passes, though very slowly, and with great difficulty: for he had scarcely gained upon the eighth day the summit of the mountain. As the enemy had assembled all their forces together in this place, and were persuaded that they should still compel him to desist from his design, a new and fierce battle ensued. But the barbarians were defeated in the following manner. They had formed themselves into a close body, and maintained the fight with courage, against the heavy forces that attacked them in front; when they perceived that the light-armed troops, having made a circuit in the night, had possessed themselves of the eminences in their rear. At this sight they were struck with terror, and began to fly with great precipitation. The king would not suffer them to be pursued, but ordered the trumpets to sound a retreat; that he might descend with all his army, in good order, into Hyrcania. Having regulated his march as he desired, he arrived at Tambracus; a city not inclosed with walls, but of great extent, and in which there was also a royal palace. In this place he encamped; and being informed that the

greatest part of the routed army, together with many of the neighbouring people, had retired to Syrinx, which was at no great distance from Tambracus, and, on account both of its strength and situation, was considered as the capital of all Hyrcania; he resolved to make himself master of that city. Advancing, therefore, with his army, he extended his forces round it, and began the siege. The chief part of his labour was employed in preparing tortoises, for the purpose of filling up the intrenchments. For the city was surrounded by three ditches; each of which contained not less than thirty cubits in breadth, and fifteen in depth. Upon the top of each was a double palisade, and beyond them a strong wall. It was here that continual combats passed without any intermission; so that neither the besiegers, nor the besieged, were able to remove the wounded and the dead. For they not only fought above the ground, but often met together in the mines which they had digged below. By the activity however of the king, as well as from the number of the troops employed, the ditches were in a short time filled, and the wall fell in the part that was undermined. The barbarians, unable any longer to make resistance, killed all the Greeks that were in the place; and, having pillaged the city of all the goods that were of greatest value, endeavoured to escape by night. But Antiochus, being informed of their retreat, ordered Hyperbasis to pursue them with the mercenaries. The barbarians, upon the first approach of these troops, threw away their baggage, and fled back into the city. And when they found that the heavy-armed forces had also entered the city through the breach, they despaired of any farther means of safety, and surrendered themselves to the king.

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

The consuls Marcellus and Crispinus are lost through their own imprudence. Reflections of the historian upon this event.

THE consuls, Claudius Marcellus and Crispinus, being desirous to take a perfect view of those parts of the hill that looked toward the camp of the enemy, ordered the rest of the army to remain within the intrenchment, and, attended only by two troops of horse, some light-armed, and about thirty lictors, advanced to examine the ground. It happened, that some of the Numidians, who were accustomed to wait in ambuscade, and to attack by surprise those who came out to skirmish, or upon any occasion advanced from the Roman camp, had at this very time concealed themselves, lying close under the foot of the hill. As soon then as their scout gave notice by a signal, that some of the enemy were above them, they rose from their place, and, winding along the sides of the hill, intercepted the consuls, and cut off their return to the camp. The consul Claudius, and some others, were killed in the first onset: and the rest, being wounded, directed their flight by different ways among the precipices. The son of Claudius, who was also wounded, very unexpectedly escaped, and with great difficulty. The Romans from their camp saw distinctly every thing that passed, but were not able to send any assistance. For while they cried aloud, and were struck with consternation at what had happened; while some bridled their horses, and others prepared their arms, the action was entirely finished. Thus was Marcellus lost through his own simplicity, and by not attending to the proper duty of a general.

I have often been forced, in the course of this history, to make some reflection upon faults like these. For, among all into which the leaders of armies are betrayed, there is none more frequent; nor any on the other hand

that affords a clearer proof of ignorance. What good indeed can be expected from a man, who knows not that the commander of an army should keep himself, as much as it is possible, out of little combats which decide nothing with respect to the whole; and that, if ever any occasion should oblige him to take a part in such engagements, he ought to see many fall before the danger be suffered to approach himself? Let the base Carian risk his life, as the proverb expresses it, and not the general. To say afterwards, I did not think it; and, Who could have expected such an accident? is, in my judgment, the strongest proof that a general can give of his want of capacity and sense. I cannot, therefore, but consider Annibal, who was indeed, in many other respects, an excellent commander, as most particularly admirable upon this account; that in all the long time which he passed in a hostile country, amidst much variety of fortune, and in the course of so many and so great battles, though upon many occasions he surprised the enemy, he never was himself surprised. So great was the prudence with which he provided always for the safety of his own person. And surely nothing is more commendable than such precaution. For though an army may have suffered an entire defeat, yet, if the general be unhurt and safe, many favourable occasions may arise for repairing the loss that has been sustained. But when he, who is as the pilot in a vessel, falls; the army, though superior perhaps in the action to the enemy, cannot draw any advantage even from victory; because the hopes of every man are all centred in the leader. Let this then serve as a caution to those commanders, who, through ostentation, youthful folly, a want of experience, or a contempt of the enemy, are apt to fall into such absurdity of conduct. For to one or other of these causes misfortunes like that which has now been mentioned must always be ascribed.

EXTRACT THE SIXTH.

The conduct of Scipio in Spain. He is joined by Mandonius and Andobalis: defeats Asdrubal in battle; and forces him to leave the country. He rejects the title of king, which was offered to him by the Spaniards.

CHAP. I.

WHILE Scipio remained in winter quarters at Taraco, as we before have mentioned, he endeavoured to secure the confidence and friendship of the Spaniards, by delivering to them the several hostages which had fallen into his power. An accident happened, which greatly assisted him in this design. Edeco, a powerful prince in the country, no sooner heard that the Romans were become masters of New Carthage, and that his wife and children were in their hands, than he considered with himself, that it was highly probable that the Spaniards would in no long time revolt, and join the conquerors. He resolved, therefore, to set the first example of this change; being persuaded, that by such a measure he not only should recover again his wife and children, but appear also to have embraced the friendship of the Romans, not through necessity, but by choice. Nor was he indeed disappointed in his hopes. As soon as the armies were fixed in winter quarters, he came to Taraco, with some of the nearest of his friends: and being admitted into the presence of Scipio, "he thanked the gods," he said, "who had permitted him to be the first in coming to him, of all the princes of the country. That others, indeed, extended their hands towards the Romans; but still turned their eyes towards the Carthaginians, and held a correspondence with them. But that he, on the contrary, was ready to surrender without reserve, not only himself, but his kindred also and friends, to the Romans. That, if Scipio would consider him as an ally and friend, he might draw from such compliance many great advantages, both now and in future

times. That, with respect to the present, the rest of the Spaniards, as soon as they should find that he was treated as a friend, and had obtained what he desired, would hasten to follow his example; with the hopes of recovering again their families, and of being received into the same alliance. And that hereafter, likewise, possessed as they would be, with a sense of so great an honour as well as kindness, they would be ready to assist him without reserve in all the operations of the war. He entreated him, therefore, to restore to him his wife and children; to consider him as his friend; and to suffer him to return with that denomination to his own country; till some occasion should arise, in which he might shew, in the most effectual manner, the sincerity of his own attachment, as well as that of his friends, both to Scipio himself, and to all the interests of the Romans."

Here he ended his discourse. Scipio, who long before had viewed the thing in this very light, and had reasoned upon it with himself in the same manner as Edeco had done, immediately restored his wife and children, and gave him an assurance of his friendship. And when, in the course of many conversations which they afterwards held together, he had insinuated himself by various methods into the heart of the Spaniard, and had raised also in all his friends great expectations of future honour and advantage, he sent them back to their own country. The report of this transaction being soon noised abroad, all the Spaniards that lived on that side of the Iberus, and who before were enemies of the Romans, immediately with one consent embraced their party. When the success of this measure had so fully answered all his expectations, Scipio, having now no enemy upon the sea, disbanded his naval forces; and, selecting the ablest of the men, distributed them among the companies, and increased his land army.

CHAP. II.

MANDONIUS and Andobalis were two of the most powerful among the princes in Spain; and had always been considered as the firmest friends of the Carthaginians. But they long had harboured a secret dissatisfaction in their minds, because Asdrubal, on pretence that he suspected their fidelity, had demanded their wives and children as hostages, together with a large sum in money, as we have already related. Conceiving, therefore, the present opportunity to be most favourable for carrying into execution the design which they had from that time meditated, they withdrew their troops from the Carthaginian camp by night, and retired to some fortified posts, in which they were secure from being attacked. This revolt was followed also by that of many others of the Spaniards; who for a long time had supported with great pain the haughtiness of the Carthaginians; and were ready to seize the first occasion that was offered to declare their real inclinations.

Examples of the same kind have been indeed extremely frequent. It is a great thing undoubtedly to obtain success in action, and to defeat an enemy in the field. But, as we have often taken occasion to observe, it requires much greater skill and caution to make a good use of victory. There are many who know how to conquer; and but few, in the comparison, who use their conquest with advantage. The Carthaginians were among the first of these. As soon as they had defeated the Roman army, and killed the two consuls, Publius and Cnæus, being persuaded that they should now hold without dispute the sovereignty of Spain, they treated all the people of the country with the greatest haughtiness. Instead, therefore, of allies and friends, they made all who had submitted to their power their enemies. And how indeed could it be otherwise? They conceived, that one way was the best for gaining empire, and another for maintaining it. They

ought, however, to have learned, that men most easily preserve their power, by persisting in the same course of conduct by which it was at first obtained. Now nothing is more evident, or more confirmed by a great variety of examples, than that the surest way of drawing any people to submission is to flatter them with kindness, and to allure them by the prospect of advantage. But if men, when they have gained the end which they desired, reverse this treatment, and load those that have submitted to them with rigour and severity, the inclinations of the subjects, as the Carthaginians now experienced, will not fail to correspond with the change of conduct in the governors.

In this dangerous condition of affairs the mind of Asdrubal was filled with many apprehensions, and distracted by various thoughts. He was grieved at the revolt of Andobalis. The discontents of his own officers, and their opposition to his will, added much to his anxiety. He dreaded also the arrival of Scipio with his army. And as he judged that this would very shortly happen; perceiving likewise, that the Spaniards had deserted him, and were hastening with one consent to join the Romans; he at last resolved, that he would dispose all things in the best order that was possible, and try the fortune of a battle. That, if happily he should be victorious in the action, he might afterwards deliberate upon future measures in full security. If, on the other hand, he should be conquered; he would then retreat with the remains of his army into Gaul; and, being joined by as many of the barbarians as he should be able to draw together in that country, would from thence pass into Italy, to assist Annibal his brother, and to partake with him in the same common hopes.

While Asdrubal was forming this design, Scipio, having been joined again by Lælius, who brought to him the orders of the senate, drew all the troops from their winter quarters, and began his march. In every place through

which he passed, the Spaniards were prepared to meet him, and joined themselves to the army with alacrity and joy. Among the rest, Andobalis, who had long before sent messages to Scipio, no sooner was informed of his approach, than he went out of his camp to meet him, attended by his friends. And when he had joined him, he began with giving an account of his late connexion with the Carthaginians: displaying, on the one hand, the advantages which they had drawn from his alliance, and the fidelity with which he had always served them; and, on the other, the many injuries and insults with which his services had been requited. He entreated Scipio therefore to be himself the judge of what he had heard. That, if he should be found to have falsely accused the Carthaginians, it might with good reason be supposed, that he would not long maintain his faith in this new alliance. But if, on the contrary, he had only separated himself from his former friends, because a long course of injurious treatment had compelled him to abandon them; there was good ground to hope, that, having now embraced the party of the Romans, he would adhere to it with a firm affection. He said many other things upon this subject. And when he had ended, Scipio replied, "That he doubted not of the truth of what he had heard. That he could well judge what must have been the insolence of the Carthaginians towards him; not only from the manner in which they had treated all the people of Spain; but more particularly from the insults to which the wives and daughters of Andobalis and the other princes had been exposed. That himself, on the contrary, when these women had fallen into his power, not as hostages, but as prisoners and slaves, had observed towards them such strict fidelity, that even they who were their parents scarcely could have equalled him in discharging that duty." Andobalis declared aloud, that he spoke the truth; and, prostrating himself before him, saluted him with the appellation of King. The rest that were present all applauded the word. But Scipio,

inclining himself towards them, only exhorted them to take courage, and to be assured, that they should receive every mark of kindness from the Romans. He then delivered to them their wives and daughters; and on the next day concluded a treaty with them, in which the chief condition was, that they should be subject to the command of the Roman leaders, and obey the orders which they should give. The Spaniards, after this transaction, returned back again to their own camp; and, taking with them all their forces, came and encamped together with the Romans, and began their march with them towards Asdrubal.

The Carthaginian general was at this time encamped in the neighbourhood of Bætula, a city situated in the Castalonian district, at no great distance from the silver mines. But when he heard that the Romans were advancing towards him, he went into another camp, which was secured behind by a river. In his front he had a plain, which was bordered at the extremity by a rising ground; of a height sufficient to cover the camp; and of sufficient length also for drawing up the army in battle. In this place he remained; taking care only to place continually an advanced guard of troops upon the rising ground. As soon as Scipio arrived, he was impatient to engage: but the great advantages of the ground in which Asdrubal was encamped filled him with perplexity. When he had waited however two whole days, and began to fear, that, if Mago and Asdrubal the son of Gesco should advance also with their armies, he should then be inclosed on every side, he resolved to make some attempt at least to draw the enemy to a battle. Having ordered therefore the rest of the army to remain in the intrenchments, and to hold themselves in readiness to engage, he sent away a part of the light-armed troops, together with the extraordinaries of the infantry, to attack those bodies of the enemy that were posted upon the rising ground. This order was executed with vigour. The Carthaginian general remained

for some time quiet, and expected the event. But, when he saw that his men were closely pressed by the Romans, and that they suffered greatly in the action, he drew out his army, and, trusting to the advantage of his situation, began to range them in order of battle upon the rising ground. Scipio then sent away all the light-armed forces, to assist those that were first engaged: and, at the same time, dividing the rest of his army into two equal bodies, he gave one of them to Lælius, and ordered him to make a circuit round the rising ground, and fall upon the right of the enemy, while himself with the other wheeled round on the opposite side, and attacked their left. While this was done, Asdrubal was but just beginning to draw out his troops from the intrenchments. For to this moment he had remained quiet; not expecting that the Romans would risk a battle against him in so strong a post. And now, when the thing had happened, it was too late to draw up his army in proper order. The Romans therefore falling thus upon the wings before they had taken their respective posts, not only gained the top of the rising ground without resistance, but continuing also to advance, while the enemy was still in motion to be formed, killed those who presented their flank to them as they marched, and forced the rest, who had just formed themselves in front, to fly. When Asdrubal perceived that his troops were repulsed in every part, persisting in the plan which he at first had formed, he resolved not to continue the battle to the last extremity. Taking with him therefore the money and the elephants, and collecting together as many as he was able of those that fled, he retreated towards the Tagus, with design to pass over the Pyrenæan mountains into Gaul.

Scipio, not judging it proper to pursue the enemy, lest the other generals should in the mean time advance towards him, gave permission to the soldiers to pillage the camp. On the following day, he assembled together all the prisoners, and gave the necessary orders concerning

them. Their numbers were ten thousand of the foot, and more than two thousand horse. The Spaniards through all the country, who had taken arms in favour of the Carthaginians, came and submitted themselves to the Romans at discretion. In the conversations which they held with Scipio upon this occasion, they all saluted him by the name of king. This appellation had first been given to him by Edeco, who had also prostrated himself before him. Andobalis used afterwards the same expression. The word at that time passed without any observation. But after the present victory, when Scipio found that all the Spaniards addressed him by that title, he thought it a matter that deserved his most serious reflection. Having assembled them therefore all together, he told them, that he should always desire to be, and to be esteemed by all, a man of a mind truly royal: but that he neither would be a king, nor would he be so called by any one; and that, for the time to come, they should address him by no other appellation than that of General.

The greatness of soul, that was displayed by Scipio upon this occasion, may very justly be thought to deserve applause. Though at this time he was extremely young, and fortune had so favoured him in his career, that a whole subject people made a voluntary offer to him of the royal title, he remained constant to himself, and was not to be tempted by so flattering a shew of honour. But this same greatness will appear in a degree much more exalted, if we turn our view upon the later period of his life. For when, after his exploits in Spain, he had subdued the Carthaginians, and brought the fairest and the largest provinces of Afric, from the Philænean altars even to the pillars of Hercules, into subjection to his country; when he had conquered Asia and the Assyrian kings; and forced the noblest and the most considerable parts of the whole known world to submit to the Roman sway; how many occasions arose, of establishing himself in royalty, in almost any part of the earth that he should choose? A

situation like this might have inspired not only a human mind, but even divinity itself, if I may be allowed to say it, with ambitious pride. But so elevated, so superior was the soul of Scipio to that of other men, that, though sovereignty is regarded as the greatest blessing which the gods can give, and though it was thrown so often in his way by fortune, he rejected it with disdain; and preferred his own duty, and the interests of his country, to all the dazzling splendour and imagined happiness of power. But let us return from this digression.

Scipio, having separated the Spaniards from the rest of the prisoners, dismissed them without ransom to their several countries. He permitted Andobalis to choose for himself three hundred of the horses, and distributed the rest among those who had none. He then took possession of the Carthaginian camp, because it was situated with so great advantage; and remained there with the army, expecting the other generals of the Carthaginians. He sent some troops also towards the Pyrenæan mountains, to observe the motions of Asdrubal. When the summer was ended, he again decamped; and returned back to Taraco, to take his winter quarters in that city.

EXTRACT THE SEVENTH.

The preparations of Philip for maintaining the war against the Ætolians, supported by Attalus and the Romans. A digression on signals by lighted torches.

CHAP. I.

THE Ætolians, having now conceived the greatest expectations from the arrival of Attalus and the Romans, struck a terror into all the Greeks, and were ready to attack them by land, while Publius Sulpitius and Attalus pressed them on the side of the sea. The Achæans, therefore, sent an embassy to Philip, to implore assistance.

For, besides the danger which threatened them from the Ætolians, Machanidas also had drawn together an army upon the borders of the Argian territory. The Bœotians, apprehensive that the fleet would make a descent upon their coasts, demanded likewise from Philip a leader and a body of troops. The Eubœans pressed him with the greatest earnestness to take some measures for their defence. The Acarnanians urged the same request. An embassy came also from Epirus. At the same time a report was spread that Scerdilaidas and Pleuratus were drawing together their forces: and that the Thracians, who were contiguous to Macedon, and especially the Mædians, had resolved to invade that kingdom, as soon as Philip should be removed to any distance from it. The Ætolians likewise had already secured Thermopylæ by ditches and intrenchments, and strong bodies of troops; and were persuaded that they had shut the entrance against Philip; and that it would not be possible for him to advance to the assistance of his allies that were within those passes.

Conjunctures like these, in which the leaders of armies are obliged to exert all their strength, and to bring into trial their whole ability both of mind and body, are those which most particularly deserve the attention of the reader. For as, in the diversions of the field, the force and vigour of the hunted beasts are never so conspicuously displayed as when they are pressed on every side by danger; just so it happened with respect to these commanders; and in this light it was that Philip now appeared. As soon, therefore, as he had dismissed the ambassadors, with assurance that he would assist them with his utmost power, he applied his whole attention to the war: turning himself on every side; and considering with the greatest care, to what part first he should direct his aim. Being informed that Attalus had passed over with his army to the island Peparethus, and was master of the open country, he sent a garrison to secure the city. He ordered Polyphantas to

march with a body of troops to cover Phocis and Bœotia. To Chalcis and the other cities of Eubœa, he sent Menippus with a thousand heavy-armed soldiers, and five hundred Agrianians. At the same time he began his own march towards Scotussa; having ordered the Macedonian troops to be assembled in that place. But when he heard that Attalus had sailed away to Nicæa; and that the Ætolian chiefs were assembled together at Heraclea, in order to deliberate concerning the operations of the war; he again left Scotussa, and marched with the greatest haste, that he might either prevent or disperse their meeting. But the assembly had separated before he was able to arrive. He therefore wasted the country; and when he had destroyed, or taken away, all the corn that was found among the people who lived round the Ænian bay, he returned back to Scotussa, and, leaving there the body of his army, went himself to Demetrias with the light-armed forces and the royal troop, and attended to the designs of the enemy. And that the earliest knowledge might be obtained of all their motions, he sent orders to Peparethus, to the people of Phocis, and those of Eubœa, that they should inform him of every thing that should happen by signals of lighted torches raised upon Tisæum, a mountain of Thessaly, which stood commodious for conveying this kind of notice from all the parts now mentioned. But as this manner of making signals is of the greatest service in war; and no perfect method has hitherto appeared of carrying it into practice; it will not be unuseful if we here pause a while, and bestow upon it such consideration as the importance of the subject well deserves.

CHAP. II.

IT is a thing well known, that opportunity, which has so great a share in the accomplishment of all designs, has the greatest in those that belong to war. Now, of all the

inventions which have been contrived for securing opportunity, the most effectual is that of making signals by the means of lighted torches. By this method, things which have been just transacted, and others at the very time in which they happen, may be communicated to those who are concerned to know them; though they are distant perhaps three or four days' journey, and sometimes even many days from the place; and the requisite assistance be received, when it seems scarcely possible to expect it. In former times the manner of conveying this notice was too simple; and the invention, upon that account, lost much of its advantages. For the method was, to settle by concert some fixed and determinate signals. But as the things which happen are infinite, the greater part were incapable of being signified by such a method. Thus, for example, that an army is arrived at Oreum, Peparethus, or at Chalcis, may be expressed by signals before concerted. But accidents of a different kind, such as the revolt of the citizens, the discovery of treason, massacres committed in the city, and other events like these; accidents which, though they are very frequent, cannot before be taken into account; and which, because they happen unexpectedly, require a speedier consultation and more quick relief; these accidents never could be signified by signals of torches before concerted. For it is not possible that signals should be concerted to give notice of events which cannot be foreseen.

Æneas, who composed a work on the Art of War, perceiving the defects of this method, added indeed some little improvement to this invention; but was very far from carrying it to that degree of perfection which the thing requires. The reader may judge of it from the account that follows.

Let those, says he, who intend to convey and to receive intelligence of what has happened by the means of lighted torches, take two earthen vessels, of a depth and breadth exactly equal. The depth of three cubits may commonly

be sufficient, and the breadth of one. Let them then take two corks, a little less in size than the mouths of the vessels, and in the middle of them fix two sticks; which must be divided on the outside into equal portions, very distinctly marked, and containing three fingers' breadth in each. Upon each of the portions inscribe one or other of those events which usually happen in the time of war. On one, for example; "A body of cavalry is come into the country." On the next; "A body of heavy infantry." Upon a third; "Light-armed forces." On another; "A body of cavalry and infantry." Then again; "A fleet of ships." Afterwards; "Corn." And in the same manner upon the rest till all the portions are severally filled with those events, which are capable of being foreseen, and which the state and condition of the war may render probable. Particular care is to be taken, that the tapholes in both the vessels be exactly equal; that the water may be discharged alike from both. Let the vessels be then filled with water, and the corks with the sticks be placed upon the water; and then let the tapholes be opened. When this is done, it is clear, that, if all things are exactly equal in both vessels, the corks, together with the sticks that are upon them, will sink alike in both, as the water is discharged. When the experiment therefore has first been made, and the sticks are found to descend in equal time, let the vessels be carried to the respective places, in which the signals are to be given and received. And when any one of those events, which are inscribed upon the sticks, has happened, let those on one side raise a lighted torch, and hold it till another torch be shewn on the other side. Then let the first be dropped; and the tapholes of the vessels on both sides be opened. And when, by the sinking of the cork, that portion of the stick, which is inscribed with the event intended to be communicated, becomes level with the mouth of the vessel, let those on one side again raise a lighted torch, and those on the other stop the taphole of their vessel, and examine the

inscription that is also level with the mouth. For the writing in this part will be the same in one vessel as in the other; if all things have been performed in exact and equal time.

But this method, though preferable, indeed, to that of making concerted signals with the help of torches, is far from being attended with sufficient certainty. For it is evident that all things cannot be foreseen: and, if they could, that it would be impossible to inscribe them all upon a stick. When an event, therefore, happens of which there was no suspicion, no notice can ever be given of it in this method. Add to this, that the inscriptions also upon the sticks are themselves too indeterminate. They neither shew the numbers of the infantry or cavalry; nor into what part of the country they are come, nor the number of the ships arrived; nor the quantity of the corn. For as these are circumstances, which cannot possibly be known before they happen, it is by consequence impossible to ascertain or mark them. And yet this is the most important part of the whole. For, unless we know the numbers of the enemy, and the place into which they are come, how shall it be determined what assistance is necessary to be sent? Unless we are informed, how many ships the fleet contains, and what quantity of corn the allies have furnished, how can we frame a judgment with regard to the event, or how in a word be able to take any measures?

The last method which I shall mention, was invented either by Cleoxenus or Democlitus, but perfected by myself. This method is precise, and capable of signifying every thing that happens with the greatest accuracy. A very exact attention, however, is required in using it. It is this which follows.

Take the alphabet, and divide it into five parts, with five letters in each. In the last part indeed, one letter will be wanting; but this is of no importance. Then let those who are to give and to receive the signals, write upon five

tablets the five portions of the letters in their proper order; and concert together the following plan. That he, on one side, who is to make the signal, shall first raise two lighted torches, and hold them erect, till they are answered by torches from the other side. This only serves to shew, that they are on both sides ready and prepared. That afterwards, he again who gives the signal, shall raise first some torches upon the left hand, in order to make known to those on the other side which of the tablets is to be inspected. If the first, for example, a single torch; if the second, two; and so of the rest. That then he shall raise other torches also upon the right; to mark in the same manner, to those who receive the signal, which of the letters upon the tablet is to be observed and written. When they have thus regulated their plan, and taken their respective posts, it will be necessary first to have a dioptrical instrument, framed, with two holes or tubes; one for discerning the right, and the other the left hand of the person who is to raise the torches on the opposite side. The tablets must be placed erect, and in their proper order, near the instrument. And, upon the right and left, there should be also a solid fence, of about ten feet in length, and of the height of a man: that the torches, being raised along the top of these ramparts, may give a more certain light; and, when they are dropped again, that they may also be concealed behind them. When all things then are thus prepared, if it be intended, for example, to convey this notice; "that some of the soldiers, about a hundred in number, are gone over to the enemy;" it will be necessary in the first place to choose words for this purpose which contain the fewest letters. Thus, if it be said, "Cretans a hundred have deserted;" the same thing is expressed in less than half of the letters which compose the former sentence. These words then, being first written down, are communicated by the means of torches in the following manner. The first letter is Cappa; which stands in the second division of the alpha-

bet, and upon the second tablet. The person, therefore, who makes the signal, first holds up two torches upon the left; to signify that it is the second tablet which is to be inspected: and afterwards five upon the right; to shew that Cappa is the letter, which he who receives the signal must observe and write. For Cappa stands the fifth in the second division of the letters. Then again, he holds up four torches upon the left; because Ro is found in the fourth division: and two upon the right, to denote that it stands the second in that division. From hence, the person who receives the signal writes Ro upon his tables: and, in the same manner all the rest of the letters. By this method, an account of every thing that happens may be conveyed with the most perfect accuracy. It is true indeed, that, because every letter requires a double signal, a great number of torches must be employed. If the necessary pains however be used, the thing will be found to be very practicable. In both these methods, it is principally requisite, that the persons employed should first be exercised by practice: that, when a real occasion happens, the signals may be made and answered without any mistake.

With respect to the seeming difficulty of the method, it would be easy to shew by many instances, that there is a very great difference in the same things, when they are first proposed, and when they are afterwards rendered familiar to us by habit: and that many things which appear in the beginning to be not only difficult, but absolutely impracticable, in the course of time, and by continued use, are accomplished with the greatest ease. Among numberless examples, the art of reading may be mentioned, as one of the clearest and the most convincing proofs of the truth of this remark. Take a man, who has never learned to read, but is otherwise a man of sense. Set a child before him, who has learned; and order him to read a passage in a book. It is certain that this man will scarcely be able to persuade himself, that the child, as

he reads, must consider distinctly, first the form of all the letters; in the next place their power; and, thirdly, their connexion one with another. For each of these things requires a certain portion of time. When he hears him, therefore, read four or five lines together without any hesitation, and in a breath, he will find it very difficult to believe, that the child never saw the book before. But, if to the reading some gesture also should be added; if the child should attend to all the stops, and observe all the breathings rough and smooth; it will be absolutely impossible to convince the man that this is true. From hence, therefore, we may learn, never to be deterred from any useful pursuit by the seeming difficulties that attend it; but to endeavour rather to surmount those difficulties by practice and by habit. It is habit which gives to men the noblest acquisitions: even those which are upon many occasions the principal means of their safety. With respect to myself, what induced me to enter into a discussion of this kind, was the remark that was made in a former part of this work; that, in the present age, the sciences are advanced to so great perfection, that almost every thing is capable of being taught by method. Such digressions, therefore, deserve to be considered as some of the most useful parts of a history that is well composed.

EXTRACT THE EIGHTH.

The manner in which the Aspasians pass the Oxus.

THE wandering tribes that are called Aspasians live between the Oxus and the Tanais. The first of these rivers discharges itself into the Hyrcanian sea, and the other into the Mœotis. Both of them are so large as to be navigable. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive, in what manner this barbarous people pass the Oxus without the help of vessels, and come into Hyrcania with their

horses[a]. Two different accounts are given of this fact: one of which is probable; and the other, though very extraordinary, not impossible. The Oxus takes its sources from mount Caucasus; and being increased by the addition of many large streams as it flows through Bactriana, rolls its waters over the plain with a full and impetuous course. From thence it passes through a desert to the top of a craggy precipice; whose height, together with the strength and the rapidity of the waters, throws the stream forward with such violence, that it falls upon the ground below, at the distance of more than a stadium from the rock. By this way, it is said, the Aspasians enter Hyrcania; passing close along the rock, and under the fall of the river. But there is another account, which appears to be much more probable. This account affirms; that at the bottom of the rock there are some large cavities in the ground; that the river, forcing its way downward through these cavities, runs to a moderate distance under ground, and afterwards appears again; and that the barbarians, being well acquainted with the part that is left dry, pass over it with their horses into Hyrcania.

[a] There is much geographical error in this account. For Hyrcania itself is situated between the Tanais and the Oxus. It might be imagined, that what the author calls the Oxus should mean the Araxes; which enters the Hyrcanian sea on the western side, as the Oxus does on the east. And these two rivers are often mistaken one for the other by the ancients. But on the other hand, what he afterwards says, that this river rises in mount Caucasus, and runs through Bactriana, agrees with the Oxus, but not with the Araxes. The truth is, the ancients, even after the expedition of Alexander, had a very imperfect knowledge of these parts of the globe. As this is almost the single mistake of this kind that I have observed in Polybius, I was willing to remark it. In general, he is more exact and accurate in the names of places, and descriptions of countries, than even the professed writers of geography.

EXTRACT THE NINTH.

Antiochus gains the victory in an engagement against Euthydemus, who had revolted.

WHEN Antiochus was informed that Euthydemus had encamped with his whole army near Taguria, and, that he had stationed a body of ten thousand cavalry upon the banks of the river Arius, to defend the passage; he immediately raised the siege, and resolved to pass the river, and to advance towards the enemy. Being distant three days' journey from the place, during the first two days he moved with a moderate pace. But, on the evening of the third, having ordered the rest of the army to decamp and follow him at break of day, he took the cavalry and the light-armed troops, together with ten thousand of the peltastæ, and continued his march all night with the greatest haste. For he had heard, that the cavalry of the enemy, which guarded the passage of the river by day, retired, as soon as night came on, to a certain city, which was full twenty stadia distant from the river. As the country was a level plain, commodious for the march of cavalry, he arrived at the expected time, and passed the river with the greatest part of his forces before the day approached. But the Bactrian cavalry, being now informed by their scouts of what had happened, ran towards the river, and were ready to attack the troops as they marched. The king, judging it to be necessary that he should receive their first charge, exhorted the two thousand horsemen, that always fought near his person, to perform their duty; and, having ordered the rest to range themselves in troops and cohorts, and to take their accustomed posts, led on his body of cavalry, and engaged with the foremost of the enemy. In this action he distinguished himself above all that were with him. Many fell on both sides: but the first squadron of the enemy was at last broken by the king. When the second, and afterwards the third squadron advanced to the

charge, the troops of Antiochus were in their turn pressed, and began to fall into disorder. But Panætolus, bringing up the rest of the cavalry; who were now almost all completely formed, rescued the king from the danger; and forced the Bactrians, whose ranks were already broken, to fly in great disorder. Nor did they stop their flight, till they had reached the camp of Euthydemus: being still closely pursued by Panætolus, and having lost the greatest part of their men. The royal cavalry, when they had killed great numbers, and taken many also alive, at last desisted from the pursuit, and encamped upon the banks of the river. Antiochus had a horse killed under him in the battle; and was himself wounded in the mouth, and lost some of his teeth. Nor was there indeed any action of his life, in which he gained so high a reputation for courage, as in this engagement. Euthydemus, disheartened by this defeat, retreated to Zariaspa, a city of Bactriana, with all his army.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Asdrubal, having entered Italy, is defeated by the Romans. His death and character.

ASDRUBAL was, in all respects, dissatisfied with the state in which things appeared. But as it was now too late to take other measures, because the Romans were already formed, and beginning to advance towards him, he was constrained to draw up the Spaniards, and the Gauls that were with him, in order of battle. He placed the elephants, which were ten in number, in front; increased the depth of his files; and ranged his whole army upon a very narrow ground. He then took his post in the centre of the line, behind the elephants; and moved to attack the left of the enemy; having before determined that in this battle he would either conquer or die. Livius, leading on his troops with a slow and haughty pace, began the combat with great vigour. But Claudius, who commanded on the right, was unable to advance so as to surround the enemy; being utterly obstructed by those difficulties of the ground which have before been mentioned, and which had determined Asdrubal to make his whole attack upon the left. Anxious, therefore, and not willing to remain inactive, he had recourse to the measure which the occasion itself suggested to him. From having drawn away his troops for the right, he led them round the field of battle; and, passing beyond the left of the Roman army, attacked the Carthaginians in flank behind the elephants. To this moment the success of the battle had remained doubtful. For both the Carthaginians and

the Romans, well knowing that they had no hopes of safety but in victory, maintained the fight with equal bravery. The service also which the elephants performed, had been the same to both. For these beasts, being inclosed between the two armies, and wounded by the darts, spread no less disorder among the ranks of the Spaniards than among those of the Romans. But when Claudius fell upon the enemy from behind, the engagement was no longer equal. The Spaniards, pressed at once both in front and rear, were almost all slaughtered in their ranks. Six of the elephants were killed, together with the men that conducted them; and four, which had forced their way through the disordered ranks, were afterwards taken, but without their leaders. Asdrubal, who had so often distinguished himself upon former occasions, displayed no less courage in this last action, and fell in the battle. It would be unjust not to pause awhile, and give the praise that is due to the character of this great commander.

It has already been mentioned that he was the brother of Annibal; and that the latter, when he began his march towards Italy, left to him the care of the affairs of Spain. The many engagements which he sustained against the Romans in that country; the various difficulties in which he was involved by the jealousy of those commanders who were sent from time to time into Spain from Carthage; how truly he shewed himself, upon all those occasions, to be the worthy son of Amilcar Barcas; and with what spirit and magnanimity he supported his misfortunes and defeats; these things have been all related in the former books. But his conduct, in the last scene of this contention, is that which especially deserves to be remarked, and is most worthy to be imitated.

The greatest part of generals and of princes, when they are ready to engage in a decisive action, place continually before their eyes the honour and advantages that may result from victory; and consider only, how they may best

improve each circumstance, and in what manner they shall use the fruits of their success; but never turn their view upon the consequences of a defeat; nor form for themselves any rule of action in the case of a misfortune. And yet the conduct which the first of these situations may require is sufficiently plain and obvious; but the second demands great foresight. Now from hence it has happened, that commanders, through the want of this attention, and not having before determined in what manner they shall act upon such occasions, after the bravest efforts of their soldiers, have often been defeated with disgrace and shame; have dishonoured all their former actions; and loaded the remainder of their lives with reproach and infamy. How many have been lost by this fatal negligence; and how much one man is in this respect superior to another, may be learned with little pains. The history of past times is filled with such examples. But Asdrubal displayed a very different conduct. As long as any hope remained of performing actions not unworthy of his former glory, he attended to nothing so much in every battle as to the care of his own safety. But when fortune had taken from him every future prospect, and confined him to the last desperate extremity; though he neglected nothing that might secure the victory, either in the disposition of his army, or in the time itself of the engagement; yet he considered also with no less attention, in what manner, in case that he should be defeated, he might submit with dignity to his adverse fortune, and not suffer any thing unworthy of his former actions. Let other commanders then be taught by this example; as, on the one hand, not to frustrate the hopes of those who depend upon them, by throwing themselves unnecessarily into danger; so, on the other, never to add disgrace to their misfortunes, by cherishing an immoderate desire of life.

The Romans, as soon as they had gained the victory, pillaged the camp of the enemy. Finding many of the Gauls drunk, and sleeping upon their straw, they slaugh-

tered them as victims without resistance. The prisoners were then collected together: and from this part of the booty more than three hundred talents were brought into the public treasury. Not fewer than ten thousand Gauls and Carthaginians fell in the engagement; and about two thousand of the Romans. Some of the Carthaginians that were of eminent rank were taken alive; the rest were destroyed in the action.

When the account of this great success arrived at Rome, so vehement was the desire that it might be true, that it was not at first believed. But when messengers after messengers not only confirmed the news of the victory, but reported also all the circumstances of the battle, the whole city was transported with extravagant joy. Every shrine was then adorned; and every temple filled with libations and with sacrifices. In a word, so flattering were the hopes, and so strong the confidence, which possessed all the people, that even Annibal, whom they had hitherto so greatly dreaded, seemed no longer to be in Italy.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The discourse of an ambassador exhorting the Ætolians to put an end to their war with Philip, and to be upon their guard against the designs of the Romans.

"WITH what earnestness, O Ætolians, king Ptolemy, and the cities of Rhodes and Byzantium, of Chios and Mitylene, have endeavoured to persuade you to conclude a peace with Philip, let the facts themselves demonstrate. For this is neither the first nor the second embassy that has been sent to you with that intention. Even from the moment when the war first began we have never ceased to follow you; and have taken every occasion that was offered to awaken in you an attention to your proper interests; being led to this measure, not only by the con-

sideration of those evils which the Macedonians and yourselves at this time suffer; but by the foresight of the ruin which will hereafter fall upon our own countries also, and indeed upon the whole of Greece. For as a fire, when it has once been kindled, is no longer controlled by him who lighted it, but is directed in its course either by the winds that blow, or the combustion of the matter with which it is fed; and as it often turns most unaccountably the first efforts of its rage against the person himself who raised it into a flame, just so it happens in the case of war. Once kindled, it first consumes the authors of it; and from thence, spreading itself upon every side, devours without distinction every thing that it meets; acquiring still new strength; and being blown as it were into a flame by the folly of the neighbouring people. You now, therefore, see before you all the Greeks of Asia, and the people of all the isles, imploring you to put an end to a war, the effects of which they have too great reason to fear will extend hereafter to themselves. Embrace the sentiments which prudence dictates; attend at last to our entreaties; and give a favourable answer to our just demand. If the war indeed in which you are now engaged, though attended like all other wars with present disadvantage, had both been honourable in the first intention, and glorious also with respect to the events that have happened in it, this persevering obstinacy might perhaps be excused. But, if the motives that led you into it were most shameful; and if the conduct of it has been loaded with dishonour and reproach; how much does it now deserve your most serious consideration? For my part, I shall speak my sentiments without reserve: and you, if you are wise, will not be offended with this freedom. It is certainly much better, by censuring your conduct, to preserve you before it be too late, than to sooth you with a flattering discourse, which in a short time would be followed by your own ruin, and by that of all the Greeks. Observe then the mistakes into which you have fallen. You pretend that you have

taken arms against Philip, only to prevent the Greeks from falling under the absolute dominion of that prince. But the true design and tendency of your engagement is to destroy all Greece, and to bring it into a state of servitude. Your treaty with the Romans very plainly declares, that this is your only purpose. That treaty, which subsisted before in writing, and which now is carried into execution. While it was only written, it covered you with shame; and now, when it appears in the effects, your dishonour is become notorious to all mankind. The name then of Philip is only used to cover your true intention. For this prince can suffer nothing from the war. His allies, the people of Peloponnesus, those of Eubœa, Bœotia, and Phocis, the Locrians, the Thessalians, and the Epirots, have alone any thing to dread from the conditions of your treaty. These are they, against whom it is stipulated, "that the people and the spoil shall be allotted to the Romans, and the cities with the territory to the Ætolians." If yourselves had taken any cities in open war, you neither would have set the places in flames, nor have exposed the free citizens to any injurious treatment. Such cruelty would have been judged too horrible, and worthy only of barbarians. Yet you have made a treaty, which delivers all the rest of the Greeks into the hands of a barbarous enemy, and exposes them to the most shameful outrage. The fatal tendency of this transaction was for some time unobserved; but that which has happened to the Oritæ, and to the miserable people of Ægina, has now shewn it in the clearest light. For fortune seems to have brought your imprudence into open view, like a machine upon the stage, to unravel the intricacy of your plot. Such was the commencement, and such to this time has been the event, of the present war. And what, can it be expected, will be the end of it, if all things should succeed as you desire? Must it not be the beginning of the worst of evils, in which all Greece will be involved? for when the Romans shall have ended the war in Italy; and

this, as Annibal is now shut up in a narrow corner of the Brutian district, must very shortly happen; it is manifest that they will then bring all their power into Greece: on pretence indeed of assisting the Ætolians against Philip; but, in reality, with a design to add this country to their other conquests. If, after they shall have become the masters of it, they treat the people with favour, the whole grace and honour of such indulgence will be their own. If, on the contrary, they are inclined to use severity, they alone will possess the spoils of those that are lost; and alone will exercise the rights of sovereignty over those that are preserved. In vain will you then obtest the gods. The gods will not be willing, nor will men be able, to lend you any assistance.

These then are the fatal consequences, which you ought to have foreseen from the beginning. Your honour might then have been preserved. But since the events that lie in the bosom of futurity too often escape the eye of human foresight, yet now at least be warned by those that have already happened, and turn yourselves to more prudent counsels. With regard to us, as we have omitted nothing that was fit for true friends either to speak or to act in the present conjuncture; so, with respect to the future, likewise, we have declared our sentiments with a proper freedom. And we now conjure you, with the greatest earnestness, not to envy both yourselves, and the rest of the people of Greece, the blessings of liberty and safety."

When this discourse was ended, and seemed to have made some impression upon the people, the ambassadors from Philip came into the assembly; and, without entering into any particular discussion, said only, that they had received two orders from the king. The first, that they should conclude a peace, if the Ætolians would consent: and the other, that, if this proposal was rejected, they should immediately depart; having first called the gods to witness, and the ambassadors that were present, that the

Ætolians, and not Philip, must be considered as the cause of all the evils which should fall hereafter upon Greece.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

The sentiments of Philopœmen concerning the brightness and neatness of arms. The character of this general. He gains a complete victory against Machanidas the tyrant of Sparta, in the battle of Mantinea.

UPON this occasion it was said by Philopœmen, "that the brightness of arms very much contributed to strike an enemy with terror; and that great advantage also arose in action, from having the several parts of the armour well fitted to the body. That it was much to be wished, that men would transfer that attention to their armour, which they now bestowed upon their common dress; and become as negligent in the care of their dress, as they had hitherto been in that of their arms. That such a change would both be serviceable to their private fortunes, and be attended likewise with manifest advantage with respect to the public safety. If a man, therefore," continued he, "be preparing himself for any military exercise, or for an expedition in the field, when he puts on his boots, let him be more careful in observing whether they are bright and well fitted to his legs, than in examining his shoes or sandals. When he takes his buckler, his breast-plate, or his helmet, let him desire to see more splendour, and more costly ornaments, in these parts of his armour, than in his coat or mantle. For when men preferred mere shew and ostentation to things of real use, it was easy to foresee, what would be their conduct in the time of danger. In a word, he said, he wished that they would be persuaded, that an affected nicety in dress was worthy only of women, and those, perhaps, not extremely modest; but, that a display of splendour and of costliness in arms, denoted a man of

courage; ambitious of acquiring honour; and determined to employ his utmost efforts in the defence of himself and of his country."

All the people that were present were so struck with this discourse, and with the good sense which it contained, that, as soon as the assembly was dismissed, they began to point out those that were elegantly dressed, and forced some of them to retire from the forum. And afterwards, in all their military exercises and expeditions, they were most particularly careful to bear in remembrance this advice. Such power is there even in a single exhortation, when delivered by a person of high authority, not only to deter men from bad habits, but to lead them into those that are the best. When the life especially of the speaker is known to correspond with his discourse, it is impossible not to give the fullest credit to his words. And such was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his table, he bestowed but a very slight attention upon the care of his body. In his conversation he was agreeably concise, and never gave any offence. In the whole course of his life, it was his greatest study always to speak the truth. A few words, therefore, which he at any time spoke, and which seemed to fall from him without design, were sufficient to gain an entire credit with those who heard him. The example of his life rendered a long discourse unnecessary. With some short sentences, supported by his credit, and by the opinion which his actions had inspired, he often overthrew the long and plausible harangues of those who opposed him in the government. But let us now return to the history.

When the assembly was dissolved, the people all returned back to their several cities; greatly applauding the virtue of the speaker, and the discourse which they had heard: and were persuaded, that, under the administration of such a governor, the state could never suffer any loss. Philopœmen then went round to the several cities,

and inspected every thing with the greatest diligence and care. He assembled the people together; formed them into troops; and instructed them in the military exercises. And when he had employed almost eight months in completing the necessary preparations, he drew together his army to Mantinea, to defend the liberty of all the people of Peloponnesus against the Spartan tyrant.

Machanidas, filled with confidence, and considering this measure as most favourable to his own desires, as soon as he heard that the Achæans were so near, assembled the Lacedæmonian forces at Tegea; harangued them as the occasion required; and early on the following day began his march towards Mantinea. Himself led the right wing of the phalanx. Upon either side of the van were the mercenaries, in two bodies, parallel each to the other: and behind these, a great number of carriages filled with catapults and darts. At the same time, Philopœmen also drew his army in three divisions out of the city. The Illyrians, the troops that were armed with coats of mail, the foreign mercenaries, and the light-armed forces, passed through the gate that led to the temple of Neptune. The phalanx through another gate that looked towards the west: and the cavalry of the city through a third that was near to the former. Upon a hill of considerable height, that stood before the city, and which commanded also the temple of Neptune, and the road called Xenis, he posted first the light-armed forces; and next to them, on the side towards the south, the troops that were armed with mail, and also the Illyrians. Next to these, and upon the same right line, the phalanx, divided into separate cohorts with the usual distances between, was ranged along the border of a ditch, which beginning at the temple of Neptune, was continued through the middle of the plain of Mantinea, as far as to those mountains which are the boundary of the Elisphasian territory. Upon the right of the phalanx stood the Achæan cavalry, commanded by Aristænetus, a citizen

of Dyme. Upon the left was all the foreign cavalry, formed in close order, and without any intervals between the troops. At the head of these was Philopœmen.

When the time of engaging approached, and the enemy appeared in sight, this general, riding through the intervals of the phalanx, exhorted the troops to perform their duty, in few but very forcible words. But the greatest part of what he said was not even heard. For so strong was the affection which the whole army bore towards him, so great was their confidence, and such their ardour to engage, that the soldiers rather seemed to animate their general; and, with a kind of enthusiastic transport, called upon him to lead them against the enemy, and to be assured of victory. As often, however, as he had power to speak, he in general endeavoured to make them comprehend, that the object of the present contest was, on the part of the enemy, base and ignominious slavery; and, on their own part, glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas, as he at first advanced, made a shew of attacking the right of the enemy with his phalanx formed in the oblong square. But when he approached nearer, and had gained the distance that was proper for his purpose, turning suddenly the whole body to the right, he extended his front till the right of his line was equal to the left of the Achæans; and at the same time disposed his catapults along the whole front at proper distances. Philopœmen, perceiving that his intention was, by discharging stones, and wounding the cohorts as they stood, to throw the whole phalanx into disorder, allowed him not time to effect his purpose: but began the action vigorously with the Tarentines, who were posted near the temple of Neptune, upon a ground that was flat and level, and very proper for cavalry. Machanidas was then forced to send his own Tarentines also to oppose them. The charge was violent, and sustained on both sides with great courage. The light-armed forces came soon afterwards to support their respective bodies; so that all the mercenaries of both

armies were in a short time engaged. And as the combatants fought man with man, and without regarding any order, the dispute was for a long time doubtful. Nor were the rest of the troops able to discern, to which side the dust was driven; because both parties had changed their ground, and were removed far from the place in which the action was first begun. At last, however, the mercenaries that belonged to the tyrant, who exceeded the others not only in numbers, but in the dexterity also which they had acquired in the use of their arms, prevailed.

It was reasonable indeed that this should be the issue; the same which is almost always found to happen upon such occasions. For as much as the citizens who live under a democratical government display greater courage in action than the subjects of a tyrant, so much on the other hand are the mercenaries, which a tyrant retains in pay, superior to the foreign soldiers that serve in the armies of a democracy. The reason of this difference is, that the people in the one case fight for liberty; and in the other, to be slaves: and that the zeal and courage of the mercenaries are rewarded, on the one side, with new advantages; and, on the other, tend only to their loss. For a democratical state, when it has once conquered those who attempt to subvert it, no longer employs mercenary troops to guard its freedom. But a tyrant, in proportion as his successes are increased, has still greater need of such assistance. For, by accumulating injuries, he adds to the number of those whom he has reason to fear. The very safety therefore of every tyrant depends wholly upon the strength and the attachment of his foreign soldiers.

From these reasons then it happened, that the mercenaries of Machanidas, upon this occasion, maintained the action with so great force as well as courage, that not even the Illyrians, nor the heavy forces which supported the Achæan mercenaries, were able to stand against them; but fled in disorder to Mantinea, though that city was distant full

seven stadia from the place of the action. This occasion afforded also a very clear and convincing proof of the truth of a thing which some have doubted: that the issue of battles is most frequently determined by skill on one side, and by the want of it on the other. A chief, it must be acknowledged, displays no small ability, when, after having gained the advantage in the first part of a battle, he conducts the action to the end with the same success with which it was begun. But his capacity will be seen in a much more exalted point of view, if, when he has been defeated in the beginning, he is still able to retain a presence of mind; to observe the errors which his adversary commits in the course of his success; and to turn those errors to his own advantage. For it has often happened, that some, when they have seemed to have the victory already in their hands, in a short time afterwards have suffered an entire defeat: and that others, who have failed in the beginning, by some sudden and dexterous effort, have changed the whole fortune of the battle, and obtained an unexpected victory. The two generals, who commanded in the present action, afford very eminent examples of both these cases.

For when the whole body of the Achæan mercenaries was in this manner routed, and the left wing of their army broken and compelled to fly; Machanidas, whose duty it was to remain in the place, to finish what he had begun, to surround the left of the enemy, and to charge their main body both in flank and front, attempted nothing of this kind; but, putting himself at the head of his victorious mercenaries, with an intemperate and childish valour pursued those that fled: as if their own fear alone, after they once were broken, would not have been sufficient to carry them even to the gates of the city. But the Achæan general, after he had employed all possible efforts to stop the flight of the troops, calling to the officers by name, and encouraging them to stand, when he perceived that they were forced to yield to the strength of the enemy,

was not himself disheartened, nor quitted the action in despair: but, having posted himself on the wing of his phalanx, as soon as the enemy, by their pursuit of those that fled, had left the field clear where the action had passed, he turned to the left with his first cohorts, and ran in good order to take possession of the vacant ground. By this position, he both cut off the return of those that were engaged in the pursuit, and at the same time commanded the wing of the enemy. He exhorted the phalanx to fear nothing; and to remain in their place, till they should receive the signal to charge. At the same time he ordered Polybius the Megalopolitan, to collect together all the Illyrians and the mercenaries who had not fled with the rest; to post them behind the wing of the phalanx; and to observe with the greatest care the return of the enemy from the pursuit.

The Lacedæmonian phalanx, elated by the first success, without waiting for the signal to engage, levelled their spears, and advanced towards the enemy. When they came to the bank of the ditch, whether because, as they were now so near, there was not time to change their purpose, or whether the ditch itself, being easy in the descent, and not having either wood or water in it, appeared contemptible, they continued their way through it without any hesitation. Philopœmen, perceiving that the moment was now come which he had long expected, ordered his phalanx also to level their spears, and to advance. The Achæans run together to the charge with loud and terrible cries. The Lacedæmonians, who had broken their ranks as they descended into the ditch, no sooner saw the enemy upon the bank above them, than they immediately began to fly. But great numbers of them were destroyed in the ditch: some by the Achæans, and some by their own men. Nor was this event to be ascribed to chance, or even to the interposition of a lucky moment; but wholly to the ability of the commander. For Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch in front, not with any

intention, as some suspected, to avoid a battle; but because his great skill and judgment had enabled him to foresee, that, if Machanidas, not regarding the difficulty of the ditch, should lead his phalanx to the charge, the event must happen which now had happened: and, if the tyrant, on the other hand, stopped by this impediment, should change his purpose, and be forced to break the order of his battle, that his ignorance would be then confessed; and that he would leave to his enemies the honour of a victory, and carry away the shame of a defeat, even without having risked a general engagement. Such disgrace, the greatest indeed that can happen in war, has been the lot of many commanders: who, when they have formed their army, have been deterred from engaging with the enemy, either by the disadvantage of the ground, the superiority of numbers, or some other cause; and being forced to break again the order of their battle, have depended wholly upon the rear for victory, or for the opportunity at least of making their retreat with safety. With regard to Philopœmen, his foresight was proved true by the event; for the Lacedæmonians were completely routed.

When he found then that his phalanx had thus gained the victory, and that all things had succeeded most gloriously as he desired, he now turned his thoughts to the only remaining point, which was, to prevent the tyrant from escaping. Knowing him to be intercepted, together with his mercenaries, between the city and the ditch, he stood expecting his return. Machanidas, at last coming back from his inconsiderate pursuit, and seeing the flight of his forces, was sensible of the mistake which he had committed, and at the same time perceived that all was lost. He ordered the mercenaries therefore that were near him to form themselves into a close body, and to force their way through the enemy, who were spread loosely over the field, and busied in pursuing the routed army. Some of his troops obeyed this order, and remained for some time

with him; conceiving this to be the only expedient by which they might be able to escape. But when they came to the bridge that was upon the ditch, and found it guarded by the Achæans, they immediately lost all hope, and all of them dispersed themselves, and sought their safety by different ways. Machanidas himself, laying aside all thoughts of attempting to escape by the bridge, rode along the bank of the ditch, and looked earnestly for some place in which he might pass it. Philopœmen soon discerned him by his purple habit, and by the trappings of his horse. Leaving, therefore, the care of the bridge to Aristænetus; with orders that he should spare none of the mercenaries, because they had always been the instruments of establishing tyranny in Sparta; and taking with him two of his intimate friends, Polyænus the Cyparisian and Simias, he passed to the other side of the ditch, and rode along the bank opposite to the tyrant, with design to stop him in his passage, and those who attended him. For he also was followed by two companions; Anaxidamus, and one of the mercenaries. Machanidas, having at last found a place that was easy of descent, spurred his horse, and drove him furiously through the ditch. But Philopœmen, in this very moment turning himself to meet him, happily wounded him with a spear; and then shifting the spear in his hand, struck him again with the lower part of it, and killed him. One of his companions, Anaxidamus, was at the same time killed by the two friends who attended Philopœmen; and the other sought his safety in flight. Simias then spoiled the bodies; and, having cut off the head of the tyrant, ran to shew it to those that were engaged in the pursuit: that the soldiers, perceiving that Machanidas was dead, might assume new confidence, and follow the flying enemy without any fear even to Tegea. This spectacle produced the effect that was desired; and raised so great ardour in the army, that they even gained possession of Tegea upon their first approach. On the following day they encamped along the

banks of the Eurotas, and were masters of all the open country. Thus the Achæans, who not long before had been unable to drive the enemy out of their own territory, had now all Laconia in their power, and ravaged it without resistance. They had lost but few of their men in the action; but on the side of the Lacedæmonians, four thousand were killed, and a greater number taken prisoners. All the baggage also, and the arms, fell into the hands of the Achæans.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

Reflections on the great abilities of Annibal. The cause of his failing in his attempt to subdue the Romans.

IT is impossible to contemplate the length of the time in which Annibal was employed in action; the general battles, as well as little combats, in which he was engaged; the sieges that were undertaken by him; the revolts of cities that had submitted to him; the difficult conjectures that often pressed him; and, in a word, the whole extent and greatness, both in design and execution, of his war against the Romans; and not to be struck with admiration of the skill, the courage, and the ability of this great commander. How wonderful is it, that, in a course of sixteen years, in which he maintained the war in the very heart of Italy, he should never once dismiss his army from the field; and yet be able, like a wise and prudent governor, to keep in subjection so great a multitude, and to confine them within the bounds of their duty, so that they neither mutinied against him, nor broke into any sedition among themselves upon any occasion. Though his army was composed of people of various countries; of Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Carthaginians, and Greeks; men who had different laws, different manners, a different language, and, in a word, nothing among them that was common; et so dexterous was his management, that, notwithstand-

ing this great diversity, he forced all of them to acknowledge one authority, and to yield obedience to one command. And this too he effected in the midst of very various fortune. For sometimes he was carried in his course by the most favourable gales; and sometimes he was involved in storms. How high as well as just an opinion must these things convey to us of his ability in war! It may be affirmed with confidence, that, if he had first tried his strength in the other parts of the world, and had come last to attack the Romans, he could scarcely have failed in any part of his design. But now, as he began with those with whom he should have ended, the people that was the first object of his conquest was the last also which he had the power to invade.

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

The defeat of Asdrubal, the son of Gesco, by Publius Scipio.

ASDRUBAL, having drawn together his army from the several cities in which they had remained during the winter, came and encamped at the foot of a mountain, not far from a city that was called Elinga; and threw up an intrenchment round his camp. In his front was a large plain, very proper for a battle. The number of his forces was seventy thousand foot, and four thousand horse; together with thirty-two elephants. At the same time Scipio sent away Marcus Junius to receive from Colichas the troops which that Spaniard had raised, and which consisted of three thousand foot and five hundred horse; while himself collected together the rest of the allies, as he advanced in his march towards the enemy. When he arrived near Castalo and Bæcula, he was met by Junius, with the forces which Colichas had sent. He was now involved however in very great perplexity. On the one hand, the Roman forces alone, without the assistance of the allies, were too few to engage in a general battle. On

the other, to place any dependence upon these allies, in so decisive an action, appeared to be extremely hazardous and full of danger. After much deliberation, therefore, as the necessity pressed him closely on either side, he at last resolved that he would employ the Spaniards in such a manner that they should appear to the enemy to bear a part in the action, but that only the Roman legions should be engaged. Having thus determined, he began his march with all the army, which consisted of forty-five thousand foot, and three thousand horse: and when he came near to the Carthaginians, and was in sight, he encamped upon some hills that were opposite to the enemy. Mago, judging this to be a favourable time for attacking the Romans before they had completed their encampment, took with him the greatest part of his own cavalry, together with the Numidians, with Massanissa at their head, and advanced with speed towards the camp, not doubting but that he should find Scipio wholly unprepared. But the Roman general, having foreseen that this might happen, had placed a body of cavalry equal to that of the enemy in ambuscade at the foot of one of the hills. When these troops then suddenly appeared, the Carthaginians were so struck with surprise at the unexpected sight, that many of them as they turned themselves to fly were thrown from their horses. The rest indeed stood firm, and maintained the fight with courage. But being closely pressed, and disordered chiefly by that dexterity with which the Romans were accustomed to quit their horses in the very time of action, and having lost also many of their men, they were forced to turn their backs after a short resistance. At first they retreated in good order. But when the Romans followed closely after them, they broke their ranks, and continued their flight in disorder even to their own camp. This success inspired the Romans with greater eagerness to engage: and, on the other hand, depressed the ardour of the Carthaginians. During some days that followed they drew out their forces on both sides in the

plain that was between the camps. And having tried their strength in many little skirmishes between their cavalry and their light-armed troops, they at last resolved to engage in a general and decisive action.

Upon this occasion Scipio employed two stratagems. He had remarked that Asdrubal always drew out his army at a late hour of the day; and that he placed the Africans in the centre, and the elephants before the Spaniards upon the wings. Himself, on the other hand, had been accustomed to bring his army into the field at his own time after the other, and to post the Romans opposite to the Africans, in the centre, and the Spaniards on the wings. On the day then in which he had determined to engage, he took in both these respects just the contrary method; and, by that change chiefly, procured to his troops the advantage which they gained against the enemy. For scarcely had the morning begun to appear, when he sent orders to the tribunes and to all the army, that they should immediately take their repast, put on their armour, and march out of the camp. The soldiers, conceiving what would follow, obeyed the orders with alacrity. He then sent away the cavalry and the light-armed troops; commanding them to advance boldly towards the camp of the enemy, and to engage in skirmishing: and the sun being now risen, he put himself at the head of the infantry, and began his march. And when he arrived near the middle of the plain, he then drew up the army in battle, but in an order contrary to that which he before had used. For he now placed the Spaniards in the centre, and the Romans upon the wings. The Carthaginians, surprised by the unexpected approach of the cavalry towards their camp, and perceiving that the rest of the army was drawn up in battle, and already in sight, had scarcely time sufficient to be armed. Asdrubal, therefore, before the soldiers had taken any repast, was forced to send away in haste his cavalry and light-armed troops against the Roman cavalry; and to draw up his infantry

in the usual order upon the plain, very near to the foot of the mountain.

While the light troops were engaged in skirmishing, the Roman infantry remained for some time quiet in their place. But as the day was now advanced, and no great advantage was gained on either side, because the custom of these troops was to retreat when they were pressed, and then returning again to renew the fight; Scipio called back his men from the engagement, and having made them pass through the intervals of the cohorts, ranged first the light-armed, and next to them the cavalry, behind the infantry upon each of the wings. He then ordered the whole line to move with equal pace towards the enemy. But when he came to the distance of about a stadium from them, having directed the Spaniards in the centre to keep their ranks, and to advance still with the same pace; he ordered the infantry and cavalry of the right wing to turn to the right, and those of the left to the left. He then took from the right wing three of the foremost troops of cavalry, with the accustomed number of light-armed in front; and three maniples of infantry, which the Romans call a cohort; while Lucius Marcius and Marcus Junius took in the same manner as many from the left: and then turning, Scipio with his division to the left, and the others to the right, they led on the troops in a direct line and with great speed against the enemy: the rest of the wings making also the same movement, and following close in the same line. In this manner, as the wings were brought near to the enemy, while the Spaniards in the centre advanced with a slow pace, and were still at a great distance, Scipio accomplished what he had at first designed, and fell direct upon both the wings of the enemy with only the Roman forces. The movements which were made afterwards by the troops that followed, in order to fall into a right line with those that led, were contrary the one to the other, not only in the two wings, but in the cavalry also and the infantry of either wing. For, in the right

wing the cavalry and the light-armed forces, by turning to the right, fell into the line with those that were before, and attempted to gain the flank of the enemy; while the infantry wheeled to the left, and joined their leaders. In the left wing the infantry turned to the right; and the cavalry and light-armed to the left. By these movements of the cavalry and light-armed forces, the troops changed their place, so that the right in either wing became the left. This change however Scipio considered as in itself of no great moment. His attention was fixed upon something more important; which was, to gain the flank of the enemy. And in this he judged right and reasonably. For though it is necessary indeed that a general should know the movements that may be made, it is of much greater moment to be able to apply those movements upon each occasion to their proper use.

As soon as the action was begun, the elephants, pierced by the darts of the cavalry and light-armed troops, and pressed closely on every side, were not less hurtful to their friends than to their enemies. For as they were driven from side to side in great disorder, they destroyed all without distinction that were within their reach. At the same time the infantry upon the wings of the Carthaginian army was vigorously attacked; while their centre, composed of the Africans, which were the choicest of their troops, remained inactive. For as they dared not, on the one hand, to leave their station and succour the wings, lest the Spaniards that were in the centre of the Roman army should advance to attack them; so neither were they able, on the other hand, to do any thing in their post against the Spaniards, because the latter were still at too great a distance from them. Thus the action was maintained by the wings alone; and, as the whole stress of the battle lay upon them, was for some time maintained on both sides with equal bravery. But when the sun had now gained his greatest height, the Carthaginians, who had been brought hastily into the field, and before they had taken

any repast, began to faint under the heat. The Romans, on the other hand, not only were superior in vigour and in spirit, but derived also another advantage from the prudence of their general, who had opposed the strongest part of his army to the weakest in that of the enemy. Asdrubal, therefore, unable any longer to resist, at first retreated slowly, and in good order. But after a short time, his whole army, turning their backs together, ran in crowds to the foot of the mountain: and from thence, being still violently pressed, they fled in disorder into their camp. And indeed, if some deity had not interposed to save them, they must afterwards have been driven also out of their intrenchments. But suddenly the face of the heavens was changed; and the rain descended in such violent and continual torrents, that the Romans were scarcely able to return back again to their camp.

EXTRACT THE SIXTH.

The manner in which Scipio suppressed and punished a sedition that had happened in the Roman army.

THOUGH Scipio had now gained a sufficient experience in affairs, he was thrown however by this revolt into a state of great irresolution and perplexity. Nor was this indeed without good reason. For as, in the case of the human body, the causes of external injuries, of those for example which arise from heat and cold, from fatigue, or wounds, may either be guarded against before they happen, or afterwards be remedied without much difficulty; while the disorders on the other hand which are bred in the body itself, ulcers and diseases, are neither easily foreseen, nor easy to be cured; just so it happens with respect to governments and armies. When they are attacked by any enemy from without, if the necessary attention only be employed, it is no hard thing to take the measures that are requisite for their security and defence. But to appease

the violence of intestine factions, to quell popular tumults and seditions, is a work of the greatest difficulty, and such as requires a very uncommon exertion both of address and prudence. There is one precaution, however, which, in my judgment, would be greatly serviceable in the case of states and armies, as well as in human bodies; and that is, not to suffer in any of them a too long continuance in laziness and inactivity; especially when they enjoy the blessings of plenty and prosperous fortune.

Scipio then, who, besides that steady application to affairs which we before have mentioned, was very ready also and dexterous both in thought and action, contrived the following method for remedying the disorder that had happened. He called together the tribunes, and told them, that the stipends that were demanded should be paid. And, that his promise might gain the greater credit, he directed that the taxes, which had been before imposed upon the cities for the support of the whole army, should be levied publicly and with the greatest diligence: as if his only intention had been, to raise the sums that were now required. He ordered the tribunes also to go back again to the revolted troops; and to use all entreaties, to engage them to return to their duty, and to come and receive their stipends, either separately, if they should choose that method, or all together in a body: assuring them also, that when this was done, he would then consider in what manner all other things might be adjusted. Agreeably to this plan, the money was collected without delay. And when Scipio was informed, that the tribunes had discharged also their commission, he assembled the council together to consider what was most proper to be done. The result of their deliberations was, that the troops should come all to New Carthage on an appointed day; that a general pardon should then be granted to the multitude; but that the authors of the mutiny should be punished with the last severity. These were in number thirty-five.

When the day was come, and the revolted troops were now on their way towards the city, to receive their pardon and the stipends that were due, Scipio gave secret instructions to the seven tribunes who had been before deputed to them, to meet them as they approached; and that each of them, taking five of the seditious leaders, and accosting them with a shew of friendship, should press them to take a lodging in their quarters, or at least to accept of the entertainment of a supper. Three days before he had ordered the troops that were in the city to furnish themselves with provisions for a considerable time; on pretence that they were to march, under the command of Marcus, against Andobalis, who had revolted. The seditious, being informed also of this order, were filled with still greater confidence. For they persuaded themselves that, as the rest of the army would be removed, they should have all things in their own power as soon as they should join the general.

When they were now ready to enter the city, Scipio sent orders to the other troops that they should begin their march with all their baggage very early in the morning on the following day. But the tribunes, and the prefects were at the same time secretly commanded to send the baggage forwards as soon as they should come out of the city, but to keep the soldiers in arms near the gate; to divide them afterwards into parties at every gate; and to be careful that none of the seditious should come out of the city. The tribunes, who had been appointed to receive the seditious leaders, met them as they arrived; and, having accosted them with much civility, carried them to their houses. The order given to them was, that they should immediately secure the persons of these men; and when supper was ended, should bind them, and keep them safe; and that no person afterwards should be suffered to go out of the houses, except only a messenger from each to acquaint the general that the thing was done. This order was punctually observed and executed. On the

morrow, when the day appeared, and the seditious had already begun to come in crowds towards the forum, Scipio ordered the assembly to be called. As soon as the signal was made, the soldiers ran together, according to their custom; expecting eagerly to see again their general, and to hear what he would say to them on the present occasion. Scipio then sent orders to the tribunes who were without the gates, that they should bring the troops in arms and surround the assembly. At the same time he presented himself before them; and, in the instant, by his very first appearance, filled them with extreme confusion. For they had supposed him to be broken with disease; and they behold him vigorous and strong. His very aspect therefore, so different from all that they had conceived, struck them at once with surprise and terror. He then begun his discourse to them in the following manner.

He could not, he said, but wonder what motives, either of expectation or disgust, had led them into this revolt. That men usually rebelled against their country and their leaders, either because they were dissatisfied with the conduct of those who held the supreme command, or were displeased with the condition of affairs; or lastly, perhaps, because they were ambitious of some greater fortune, and had filled their minds with aspiring hopes. "Tell me, then," continued he, "to which of all these causes is your revolt to be ascribed? Is it with me that you are offended, because the payment of your stipends has been so long delayed? The fault, however, is not mine; for, during the whole time of my command, your stipends have been always fully paid. If it be Rome then that is in fault, and having neglected to discharge your former arrears, was it just that you should shew this resentment, taking arms against your country, and declaring yourselves the enemies of her who had bred and nourished you? How much better would it have been to have made me the judge of your complaints; and to have entreated your friends to

join together in obtaining for you the relief which you desired? When mercenary troops indeed, who have no other object but their pay, desert the service in which they are engaged, such a conduct, in certain circumstances, may perhaps be excused. But in men who fight for themselves, their wives, and children, this defection is a most unpardonable crime. It is no other indeed, than if a son, on pretence that his parent had defrauded him in settling an account, should go armed to take away the life of him from whom himself had received his being. Or will you say then that I have employed you in more painful duties, or exposed you more frequently to danger, than the rest; and have given to others the advantages of the war, and the chief part of all the booty? You dare not say that I have ever made this distinction; and if you dare, you cannot shew the proof. To what part of my conduct then can you impute the cause of your revolt? Speak, for I wish to be informed. There is not one among you that is able to declare, not one among you that can even form to himself in thought, the least matter of offence against me. Nor is it again in the condition of affairs that you can find any reasonable ground of discontent. For when were all things in a more prosperous state? At what time was Rome distinguished by so many victories? At what period were her soldiers flattered with a fairer prospect? But some of you, perhaps, are diffident of these appearances, and have fixed your hopes upon greater advantages, to be found among our enemies. And who are these enemies? Mandonius and Andobalis? Do not all of you then know, that, when they first joined our army, they broke their treaty with the Carthaginians; and that now again they have no less violated the most solemn oaths, by commencing new hostilities against us? How honourable is it for you to place a confidence in men like these; and to become, for their sakes, the enemies of your country? You had surely never any hopes that with such allies you could render yourselves the masters of Spain. Neither assisted

by Andobalis, nor separately by yourselves, would you ever be able to stand in the field against our forces. What then was your design? Let me hear it only from yourselves. Is it the skill, the courage of those leaders whom you have chosen to command you, that has filled you with this confidence? Or those rods and axes which are carried in solemn state before them, and which it even is shameful for me now to mention? No, soldiers, these are not the causes; nor can you offer even the smallest matter of complaint either against me or against your country. I must endeavour then to justify your conduct, both to Rome and to myself, by those common principles, the truth of which is acknowledged by all mankind. The multitude is easily deceived; is impelled by the smallest force to every side; and, in a word, is susceptible upon all occasions of the same agitations as the sea. For as the latter, though in itself it is calm and stable, and carries no face of danger, is no sooner set in motion by some violent blast, than it resembles the winds themselves which raise and ruffle it; in the same manner the multitude also assumes an aspect conformable to the designs and temper of those leaders by whose counsels it is swayed and agitated. From this consideration all the officers of the army and myself have resolved to pardon your offence, and to engage our promise that no remembrance of it ever shall remain. But to those who excited you to this revolt we are inexorable. The crime which they have committed, both against us and against their country, shall be punished with the severity which it deserves."

As soon as he had ended this discourse, the troops that had surrounded the assembly in arms, upon a signal given, clashed their swords against their bucklers; and, at the same time, the seditious leaders were brought in, bound and naked. And while some of them were scourged, and some beheaded, the whole multitude was so struck with terror, both by the danger that encompassed them, and by the dismal spectacle that was before their eyes, that not

one among them changed his countenance, or uttered a single word; but all of them stood fixed in silent astonishment and dread. The leaders, being thus put to death, were dragged through the midst of the assembly. The general then, and all the officers, gave a solemn assurance to the rest, that their fault should never be remembered. The soldiers, approaching one by one, renewed their oath before the tribunes, that they would be obedient to their chiefs, and not engage in any designs against their country. In this manner Scipio, by his great prudence, stifled a danger in its birth which might have grown to be extremely formidable; and restored again his army to its former state.

EXTRACT THE SEVENTH.

The revolt of Andobalis. Scipio marches against that prince; defeats him in an engagement; and finishes the war in Spain.

SCIPIO, having called together without delay, and in the city of New Carthage, an assembly of all the troops, communicated to them the daring designs of Andobalis, and his perfidy towards them. Upon these topics he spoke so largely, that the minds of the soldiers were sharpened in the highest degree against that prince. Having then enumerated the many battles in which the Romans had been engaged, against the united forces of the Spaniards and the Carthaginians, with Carthaginian leaders also at their head; it would be absurd, he said, to think, when they had been always conquerors in those actions, that they could fail to obtain the victory against the Spaniards alone, commanded by Andobalis. That, upon this account, he would not have recourse to the assistance of any of the Spaniards, but would employ the Romans only in the present expedition; that from thence it might be known to all, that it was not by the strength

of the Spanish forces, as some pretended, that the Romans had driven the Carthaginians out of Spain; but that the Roman spirit alone, and the Roman bravery, had conquered both the Carthaginians and the Spaniards. "Banish then," continued he, "from among you all dissension; and, if ever you have engaged in any war with confidence, let me exhort you now to assume it. With regard to the success, myself, with the assistance of the gods, will take such measures as shall secure the victory." This discourse inspired such ardour into all the army, that, by their countenance, they seemed as if they were already in sight of the enemy, and waiting only for the signal to engage. He then dismissed the assembly.

On the following day he began his march; and, arriving in ten days upon the banks of the Iberus, he passed the river on the fourth day afterwards, and encamped near to the enemy, having before him a valley which separated the two camps. On the next day, having ordered Lælius to hold the cavalry in readiness, and some tribunes to prepare the light-armed forces for action, he drove some of the cattle that followed the army into the valley; and, when the Spaniards ran hastily to seize this prey, sent a part of the light-armed to attack them. The action was soon begun; and, as greater numbers advanced on either side to support the first, a sharp and general skirmishing ensued. But Lælius, who stood ready with his cavalry, perceiving the occasion to be favourable, fell suddenly upon the enemy; and, having cut off also their retreat at the foot of the mountain, destroyed a great part of the Spaniards who were dispersed through the valley. The barbarians, enraged by the loss which they had sustained, and dreading lest they should seem to be disheartened, and to have suffered an entire defeat, drew out all their army as soon as the morning appeared, and resolved to engage in a general battle. Scipio on his part was no less ready. But as he perceived that the Spaniards shewed so little skill and judgment, that they descended with all their

forces into the valley, and ranged their infantry as well as their cavalry upon the plain, he waited for some time, that as great a number of them as possible might come down. For though he placed great confidence in his cavalry, he depended still more upon his infantry; because the latter, both from their bravery, and from the manner also in which they were armed, were far superior to the Spaniards in close and set engagements. When he saw then that as great a number had come down as he desired, he advanced in order of battle against that part of the Spanish army which was posted near to the foot of the mountain; and sent away four cohorts, drawn up in close order, to attack the infantry in the valley. At the same time Lælius, having led his cavalry along the hills that extended from the camp to the valley, fell upon the cavalry of the enemy in their rear, and kept them closely engaged. The Spanish infantry, being in this manner deprived of the assistance of the cavalry, by which they had expected to be supported, were unable to maintain the fight. The cavalry also laboured under no less disadvantage. Confined within a narrow ground, and disordered by the difficulties of their situation, they killed more of their own men than the Romans killed. For they were pressed in flank by their own infantry; by the Roman infantry in front; and by the Roman cavalry in their rear. Such then was the course of this engagement. The Spaniards who had come down into the valley were almost all of them destroyed; and the rest that were drawn up near the foot of the hills sought their safety in flight. These were the light-armed troops, which composed about a third part of the army. Among these Andobalis found means to escape, and fled to a certain fortified place. The war in Spain being thus entirely finished, Scipio returned back to Taraco full of joy; having achieved for his country a glorious conquest, and secured to himself the honour of a splendid triumph. Being then desirous to be present at the election of consuls, as soon as he had regulated all things in Spain, he

committed the care of the army to Marcus and Syllanus, and sailed away with Lælius and the rest of his friends to Rome.

EXTRACT THE EIGHTH.

Antiochus concludes a treaty with Euthydemus; and returns from his expedition into the upper provinces of Asia.

EUTHYDEMUS, who was himself a native of Magnesia, endeavoured to justify his conduct, and said that Antiochus had no reason for attempting to deprive him of his kingdom; since he never had rebelled against him, but had only obtained possession of Bactriana, by destroying the descendants of those who had before revolted. He insisted long upon this point; and entreated Teleas to mediate for him with Antiochus, that hostilities might cease, and that he might be allowed to retain the name of king. He urged, that such a reconciliation was even necessary for their common safety. That those wandering tribes, who were spread in great numbers along the borders of the province, were alike dangerous to them both; and that, if ever they should gain admittance into it, the whole country must inevitably fall into a state of barbarism. With these instructions he sent back Teleas to the king.

Antiochus, who had been long desirous of putting an end to the war, acknowledged the force of these reasons, and declared himself willing to accept the peace that was offered. And when Teleas had gone and returned again many times, Euthydemus at last sent his own son Demetrius to ratify the treaty. The king received him favourably; and, judging by his appearance and his conversation, as well as by a certain air of majesty that was conspicuous in his person, that the young man was worthy of a kingdom, he promised to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and to suffer his father to retain the

name of king. The rest of the treaty was expressed in writing, and the alliance confirmed by oaths.

After this transaction, Antiochus, having first distributed a large quantity of corn among his troops, and taken the elephants that belonged to Euthydemus, began his march with all his army. Passing mount Caucasus, he came into India, and renewed his alliance with Sophagasenus, the Indian king. In this place he obtained more elephants; so that his whole number was now a hundred and fifty; and having furnished his army also with a new supply of corn, he again decamped; but left Androsthenes behind him, to receive the money which the king had engaged to pay. He then traversed the province of Arachosia; and having passed the river Erymanthus, and advanced through Drangiana into Carmania, as the winter now approached, he sent his troops into quarters. Such was the end of the expedition of Antiochus into the upper provinces of Asia; an expedition, which secured to him the obedience not only of those provinces, but of all the maritime cities and all the princes likewise that were on this side of mount Taurus; covered his own proper kingdom against invasion, and gave to all mankind the highest opinion both of his courage and his love of labour. For from this time, not the people of Asia only, but those also of Europe, considered him as a prince that was most worthy to reign.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

The mistakes of Timæus in his accounts of Afric and of Corsica. The manner of conducting herds of swine in Italy and in Greece.

AFRIC is indeed a country of wonderful fertility. How blameable then is Timæus, who not only neglected to acquire a proper knowledge in these matters, but with a childish weakness, destitute of judgment, and trusting to the credit of ancient stories, which have been long ago exploded, represents this whole part of the world as a dry and barren sand, incapable of producing any fruits. Nor is this country less remarkable with respect to the animals with which it abounds. For not only horses and oxen, but sheep also and goats, are found in it in greater numbers than any other part of the world perhaps can shew. Upon this account it is, that many of the inhabitants of this vast country, neglecting the cultivation of the lands, live upon the flesh of their cattle, and among their cattle. Every one also knows, that Afric breeds elephants, lions, and leopards, in great numbers, and of a surprising strength; together with buffaloes, which are extremely beautiful, and ostriches of an enormous size; and that none of these animals are found in any part of Europe. But Timæus is silent with respect to all these things; and seems indeed as if he had designed to give such a description of this country as should be most contrary to the truth.

The same want also of exactness and fidelity appears

in his account of Corsica. Speaking of this island in his second book, he says, that the goats, the sheep, and the oxen, which are found in great numbers upon it, are all of them wild, as well as the deer, the hares, the wolves, and other animals; and that the inhabitants hunt them with dogs, and pass their whole lives in that employment. Now it is certain, that there is not any such thing in the island as a wild goat or ox; nor even a hare, a wolf, or a deer, or any other animal that is wild; except only some foxes, some rabbits, and a sort of wild sheep. The rabbit, at a distance, appears to be a hare of a smaller size; but, when taken, is found to be very different from the hare, both in figure and taste. This creature lives chiefly under the ground. It is true indeed that the animals in this island all appear to be wild: and the reason is this. As the island is rough and rocky, and covered also with woods, the shepherds are not able to follow their cattle into the places in which they are dispersed; but, when they have found a convenient pasture, and are desirous of bringing them together, they sound a trumpet. Upon this signal, the whole herd immediately run together, and follow the call of their own shepherd, never mistaking one for another. When strangers therefore come upon the island, and attempt to take any of the goats or oxen which they see feeding by themselves, the cattle, not used to be approached, immediately fly. And if the shepherd, perceiving what has happened, at the same time sounds his trumpet, they all run towards him with the greatest haste. From hence it is that they are supposed to be wild: and Timæus, having made only a slight and cursory enquiry, has fallen into the same mistake.

That the cattle should be thus obedient to the sound of a trumpet, is no very wonderful thing. In Italy, those who have the care of swine never inclose them in separate pastures, nor follow them behind, as the custom is among the Greeks; but go always before them, and from time to time sound a horn. The swine follow, and run together

at the sound; and are so taught by habit to distinguish their own proper horn, that their exactness in this respect appears almost incredible to those who never heard of it before. As the consumption of these animals is very great in Italy, the herds that are raised to satisfy the demand are also very numerous; though fewer indeed than they were in ancient Italy, when the country was possessed by the Tyrrhenians and the Gauls. At this time, however, a thousand hogs, and sometimes a greater number, are reared from a single sow. In the morning they are turned out of their pens, in different troops, according to their breed and age. But when the herds meet together, it is not possible to keep them thus distinct; or to prevent them from being mingled one with another, either when they leave their pens, or as they feed in the pastures, or when they return back again at night. The horn therefore was invented, as a method of separating them without any difficulty. For as soon as the conductors go to different sides, and sound their horns, the herd separate themselves each from the rest; and run all of them with such alacrity to the sound of their own horn, that no violence is sufficient to stop them in their course. In Greece, on the contrary, when different herds meet together in the forests, he who has the most numerous herd, whenever he finds a proper opportunity, drives away the cattle of his neighbour, which are thus mingled with his own. Or some robber perhaps, who has waited in ambuscade, carries away a whole herd unperceived; if the swine, as it often happens, have wandered too far from their conductor, in search of the acorns when they begin to fall. But this is sufficient upon this subject.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The account given by Aristotle of the Locrians of Italy is confirmed by the customs and traditions which are found among that people.

I HAVE often visited the Locrians, and have even performed for them some considerable service. It was through my request that they were excused from attending the Roman armies into Spain; and from furnishing the succours which they were bound to send to the Romans by sea, in their war against the Illyrians. Upon these accounts, considering me as a person whose good offices had exempted them from much fatigue, as well as from great danger and expence, they have always treated me with singular respect and honour. I should certainly therefore be inclined rather to speak favourably of this people, than otherwise. Yet I cannot hesitate to declare, that the account which Aristotle has delivered to us concerning this colony, is nearer to the truth than that which is reported by Timæus. The Locrians themselves have indeed assured me, that their own traditions are more conformable to the account of Aristotle than to that of Timæus. Of this they mention the following proofs.

The first is, that all nobility of ancestry among them is derived from women, and not from men. That those, for example, alone are noble, who draw their origin from the hundred families. That these families were noble among the Locrians, before they migrated; and were the same, indeed, from which a hundred virgins were taken by lot, as the oracle had commanded, and were sent to Troy. That some women of these families came with the colony into Italy: and that those who have descended from them are still reputed noble, and are called the descendants of the hundred families.

Another instance is seen, in the appointment of the virgin called the Phialephorus. The account which the Lo-

crians give of the institution is this. At the time when they drove the Sicilians out of this part of Italy, the latter had a custom of appointing a young man, who was chosen always from the noblest and the most illustrious of their families, to lead the procession in their sacrifices. The Locrians, not having received any religious ceremonies from their own nation, adopted many of those that were used by the people with whom they were mixed, and among others this that is here mentioned. But they changed it in one circumstance. For, instead of a young man, they appointed a virgin to perform the office; because nobility among them was derived from women.

The same people affirm, that they never had any treaty with the Locrians of Greece, and that there was no account remaining among them of any such treaty; but that they know by constant tradition, that they had a treaty with the Sicilians, which was executed in the following manner. When they came first into the country, and found that the Sicilians were struck with terror, and made no attempt to oppose their entrance, they concluded a convention with them in these words: "That they would live together as friends, and possess the country in common, as long as they should tread upon this earth, and carry the heads upon their shoulders." But the Locrians, at the time of taking this oath, had put some earth within the soles of their shoes, and some heads of garlick, which appeared not in sight, upon their shoulders. And having afterwards shaken the earth out of their shoes, and thrown away the heads, they seized the first favourable opportunity, and in a short time drove the Sicilians out of the country.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

An observation concerning truth and falsehood in history.

TIMÆUS says, that, as a rule, which is perhaps defective either in length or breadth, is still a rule, and deserves to be so called, if it be only straight and even; and, if it wants this chief and most essential property, ought to be called any thing rather than a rule; in the same manner those written memoirs which record events, however faulty they may be in style and disposition, and however defective in some necessary properties, yet, if the facts be true which are related, deserve to be called a History, and, if these be false, are utterly unworthy of that name. For my part, I am ready to acknowledge, that truth should be considered as the principal and most essential part in all such composition. I have even said in a former part of this work, that as an animal, when deprived of sight, becomes incapable of performing its natural and proper functions; so, if we take away truth from history, what remains will be nothing but a useless tale. But there are two kinds of falsehood; one which proceeds from ignorance, and the other from design. And as those writers may be excused, who offend against the truth through ignorance; so those, on the contrary, who pervert it with design, ought never to be pardoned.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

The malignity of Timæus censured.

WHEN men of sense revenge an injury, they examine, in the first place, what punishment it becomes them to inflict, and not what their enemies deserve to suffer. In the same manner, also, when we throw reproaches upon others, we ought principally to consider, not what is fit for them to hear, but what is proper for us to speak. For if our

own passion and resentment be the rule, we shall set no bounds to what we say; but must fall into the most unwarrantable excess.

Upon this account it is, that I cannot allow any degree of credit to Timæus, in the things which he has reported against Demochares. His calumnies are indeed so gross, that they are neither to be admitted nor excused. They shew too plainly that the natural acrimony of his own temper has transported him beyond all the bounds of decency. Nor is the account which he has given of Agathocles, how much soever that prince may have exceeded all other tyrants in impiety, in any degree more justifiable. For in the conclusion of his history he writes, that Agathocles from his earliest youth was a common prostitute, obedient to the call of the most debauched: that he was a jay and a buzzard; ready to act or to suffer, with all that offered, in the most infamous lust: and that, when he died, his wife, as she lamented over him, used these exclamations: "What have not I for you? What have not you for me?" In this instance again, not only the same spirit is discernible which appeared in his censure of Democharés; but such an excess also of rancour as is indeed astonishing. For, from the facts which Timæus himself has mentioned, it is evident that Agathocles was endowed by nature with very extraordinary talents. To leave the wheel, the kiln, and the clay, and to come to Syracuse at the age of eighteen years; to follow his design with such success, as in a short time to become master of all Sicily; to render himself formidable and dangerous to Carthage; and lastly, to grow old in the sovereignty which he had gained, and to die with the title of king; are not these most signal proofs that he was born with wonderful abilities, and possessed all the powers that are requisite for the administration of great affairs? The historian then, instead of confining himself to those actions which might serve to vilify Agathocles, and render him odious in the eyes of posterity, should have insisted likewise upon those parts of his con-

duct that were worthy of praise. For this is indeed the proper office of history. But Timæus, blinded by his own rancorous spirit, takes a malignant pleasure in recounting with exaggeration the defects of this prince, but passes hastily over all his shining qualities; and seems not to have known, that to suppress facts in history is no less a kind of falsehood, than to report what never had existence.

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

A law of Zaleucus concerning the occupancy of a thing contested. A remarkable institution of the same lawgiver.

TWO young men among the Locrians had a contest together concerning a slave. One of them had for a long time had him in his possession. The other, two days only before the suit, went into the country, took away the boy by force in the absence of his master, and carried him to his own house. The master, as soon as he was informed of what had happened, went to the house, and getting his slave again into his hands, carried him before the judges, and contended that, upon his giving sureties, the boy ought to remain with him till the right should be determined. For the law of Zaleucus, he said, declared, that the thing contested should remain, during the suit, in the possession of him from whom it was taken. The other young man insisted, on the other hand, that by this very law the boy ought to be left with him; because he was the person from whom he was taken; and that it was from his house that he was brought before the judges. The judges, conceiving that there was some difficulty in the case, went and referred it to the cosmopolite: and this magistrate explained the law in the following manner. He said, that by the words, "from whom it was taken," was to be understood the person who had last held an undisturbed possession of the

thing in dispute for a certain time: but that, if any one should come and take away a thing by force from another, and carry it to his own house, and the first possessor should come afterwards and take it from him again, the person from whom it last was taken was not the person intended by the law. The young man against whom the judgment was given was dissatisfied with this interpretation, and denied it to be the sense of the legislature. The cosmopolite then demanded whether any one would dispute with him concerning the intention of the law, in the manner which Zaleucus had prescribed. The manner was, that the two disputants should speak, each with a rope round his neck, in the presence of a thousand persons; and that he who should be judged to have contended for a wrong interpretation, should be strangled in sight of the assembly. The young man replied that the condition was not equal. For the cosmopolite, who was almost ninety years old, had only two or three years left to live; but that himself, in all appearance, had still the greatest part of his life before him. This facetious answer turned the whole matter into pleasantry; and the judges gave their sentence according to the opinion of the cosmopolite.

EXTRACT THE SIXTH.

The gross absurdities of Callisthenes, in his description of the battle between Alexander and Darius in Cilicia.

IN order to shew the truth of what I have affirmed, I shall examine only one single battle: a battle, which is very much celebrated; which happened at no very distant time; and, because this also is a circumstance of the greatest moment, a battle in which Callisthenes himself was present. I mean the battle which was fought between Alexander and Darius in Cilicia.

In the account then which Callisthenes has given of this

battle, he relates, that Alexander had already led his army through the passes which are called the Pylæ of Cilicia, when Darius, having advanced along the passes of the mountain Amanus, and being informed by the people of the country, that his enemy still continued his march forwards into Syria, resolved to follow him. That when he arrived near the passes of Cilicia, he encamped along the river Pyramus: that the ground which he occupied contained a space of only fourteen stadia from the sea to the foot of the mountain: and that the river, falling down the craggy sides of the mountain, ran obliquely through this ground, and passing over the plain, between some hills that were rough and difficult of approach, discharged itself into the sea. After this description, he says, that, when Alexander returned back again with a design to engage, Darius and his officers drew up the whole phalanx in order of battle upon the very ground upon which they had encamped; and that they were covered in front by the river, which ran close to the camp; that they posted the cavalry near to the sea: next to these, in the same line, the mercenaries, along the bank of the river: and lastly, the peltastæ, adjoining to the foot of the mountain.

But it is not possible to conceive, that these troops could have been thus drawn up in order of battle between the phalanx and the river, if the river ran close to the camp; especially if we consider the numbers of which the several bodies were composed. For the cavalry, as Callisthenes himself affirms, amounted to thirty thousand; and the mercenaries to as great a number. Now it is easy to determine, what extent of ground this number of troops would require. The usual method of drawing up cavalry in the time of action is to range them eight in depth. It is necesary also to leave a certain space between each of the troops in front, that they may be able to perform their several motions. A single stadium then will contain eight hundred horse; ten stadia eight thousand; and four stadia, three thousand and two hundred. According to this com-

putation, a body of eleven thousand and two hundred horse would have filled the whole extent of fourteen stadia. And if the whole thirty thousand were formed in order of battle, there must have been three such bodies, within a very small number at least, drawn up each behind the other. In what place then were the mercenaries ranged? Was it behind the cavalry? But Callisthenes says no such thing. On the contrary he affirms, that the mercenaries were engaged against the Macedonians in the very beginning of the action. It is manifest, therefore, that one half of the ground that has been mentioned, the part that was on the side of the sea, was occupied by the cavalry; and the other half, which was next to the mountain, by the mercenaries. And from hence we may clearly judge, what must have been the depth of the cavalry; and, by consequence, how very distant the river must have been from the camp.

Afterwards he relates, that, when the enemy approached, Darius, who was in the centre of the line, called the mercenaries to him from one of the wings. But how was this possible? The very part in which the mercenaries were joined to the cavalry was itself the centre. If Darius then was among the mercenaries, how, or from whence, or to what place, did he call them? He then adds also, that the cavalry upon the right wing advanced, and vigorously charged the Macedonians: that the latter received them with equal courage; and that the fight on both sides was maintained with the greatest bravery. But he forgets that there was a river between this cavalry and the Macedonians; and such a river too, as he had just before described.

Nor is this writer more exact in his account with respect to Alexander. He says, that this prince first carried with him into Asia forty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse; and that, when he was ready to enter Cilicia, a new supply arrived from Macedon, of five thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. If we take then from

these three thousand foot and three hundred horse, which is the greatest number that can be allowed for occasional and absent services, there will remain forty-two thousand foot and five thousand horse. With this army Alexander, as the historian writes, being informed, after he had advanced beyond the Pylæ, that Darius had entered Cilicia, and was at the distance of only a hundred stadia behind him, immediately returned, and directed his march back again through the passes; having the infantry in his van, behind these the cavalry, and the baggage in the rear. As soon as he came into the open plain, he separated the army from the baggage, and formed the troops into a phalanx, by thirty-two in depth. At some distance afterwards, he ranged them by sixteen in depth; and at last, when he was come near to the enemy, by eight.

Now these absurdities are even greater than those that were before remarked. For when a body of troops marches by sixteen in depth, if we allow the usual intervals of six feet between every rank, a stadium will contain only sixteen hundred men; ten stadia, sixteen thousand; and twenty stadia, thirty-two thousand. If Alexander therefore formed his phalanx by sixteen in depth, he must have filled a space of twenty stadia, and would still have wanted room for all his cavalry, and for ten thousand of his foot. Callisthenes then adds, that when this prince was at the distance of forty stadia from the enemy, he ordered the phalanx to advance in an extended front towards them. A greater absurdity than this is scarcely to be conceived. For where is the ground, especially in Cilicia, that will admit such a phalanx as is here described to advance in an extended front against an enemy, a ground containing twenty stadia in depth and forty in length? The impediments also, which would inevitably break the order of such a disposition, are too many to be recounted. Callisthenes himself has mentioned one, which is alone sufficient. For he says, that the torrents, which descended from the hills, had formed so many pits in the plain, that the great-

est part of the Persians were lost in those cavities as they fled.

But Alexander, perhaps this writer might say, was willing to be ready to receive the enemy in what part soever they should come to attack him. But nothing is more unfit for this purpose than the phalanx formed in an extended front, if this front be broken and disunited. And would it not also have been much more easy to have ranged the several parts of this great body in the very order in which they followed each of them the other in the march; instead of forming the whole army in a single line, in which there must have been many vacancies, and leading it in an extended front to action, over a ground that was covered with bushes and broken cavities. He ought rather then to have formed a double, or a quadruple phalanx. One part following behind another. For if the ground would have admitted this order in the march, there would have been time sufficient to draw up the troops in the same order in battle: especially as he might have received notice from his scouts of the approach of the enemy, even while they were at a considerable distance from him.

Another fault in this description is, that the historian, while he represents the phalanx as advancing in an extended front over a plain, forgets to make the cavalry march before; and places them upon the same line with the infantry. But the greatest of all his mistakes is this which follows. He says that Alexander, when he approached the enemy, drew up the phalanx eight in depth. The whole line, therefore, must have been equal in length to forty stadia. Or let it be supposed, that the men stood so close together as even to be wedged one within another. In that case, they must have covered at the least twenty stadia. And yet Callisthenes had before affirmed that the whole length of the ground was less than fourteen stadia: that a part of it, which was nearest to the sea, was occupied by one half of the cavalry; that the other half was posted upon the right; and that between the whole line

and the mountain there was left also a considerable distance, that the troops might not fall under a body of the enemy, which was posted upon the sides of the mountain. I know, indeed, that in order to oppose this body he here forms a part of the line in the figure called the forceps. Let us allow then ten thousand men; which is even a greater number than this purpose would require. In that case it is evident that there would remain, according to Callisthenes, eleven stadia only at the most, for the length of the whole line: and that thirty-two thousand men, contained in a space of this extent, how closely soever they were crowded, must necessarily have been formed by thirty in depth. And yet Callisthenes affirms, that at the time of action they were ranged by eight. Mistakes like these cannot even be excused. For what credit is to be given to things that are impossible? When a writer lays down the exact measure of the ground, fixes the number of the men, ascertains the distance of one man from another, and gives afterwards an account which is wholly incompatible with all these circumstances; the falsehood is too glaring to be pardoned.

It would be tedious to examine all the errors into which this writer has fallen. One or two more however may just be mentioned. He says that Alexander took care to draw up his army in such a manner that he might himself be engaged against Darius: and that Darius also had at first the same intention with respect to Alexander, but that he afterwards altered his design. But he neither mentions how these princes knew in what part of their respective armies they severally intended to engage; nor to what other part Darius retired after he had changed his purpose. Now again was it possible for the phalanx to advance in order of battle up the bank of a river, which was broken and uneven, and covered also with bushes in almost every part? Such an absurdity can never be ascribed to Alexander, who is acknowledged to have been trained both in the study and the exercise of war from his

earliest age. It must therefore be imputed to the historian himself; who, from a want of skill in matters of this kind, was unable to distinguish what was possible to be done from that which was impracticable. But this will be sufficient concerning Ephorus and Callisthenes.

EXTRACT THE SEVENTH.

Topics for a discourse in praise of peace.

IN the first place, he says, the assembly may be told, that men are wakened in the morning in the time of war by trumpets, and in the time of peace by the crowing of cocks. And again, that Hercules, when he instituted the Olympic games, as a remission after his toil, sufficiently declared this to be his meaning; that, whenever he had brought mischief upon any by making war, he was forced to it by necessity, and the commands of others; but that willingly he had never done harm to any person. To these arguments may be added the authority of the poet; who introduces Jupiter, expressing his displeasure against the god of war, in the following words:

> Of all the gods that in Olympus dwell,
> Thou art to me most hateful: for in strife,
> In war, and battles, ever is thy joy[a].

In another passage, the wisest of his heroes thus exclaims:

> The man who stirs
> The bloody horrors of intestine war,
> No rights of kindred, or of family,
> No laws of justice knows[b].

Of the same kind also are the sentiments of Euripides, expressed in the following lines:

> Parent of wealth, celestial Peace,
> Thou fairest of the heavenly train, O why,
> Why this delay? Wilt thou again
> These longing eyes ne'er visit? How I fear,

[a] Iliad, b. v. 890. [b] Iliad, b. i. 63.

That age, insensible and cold,
My trembling limbs will seize, e'er I shall hail
The moment of thy blest return,
With the crown'd banquet, and the choral song[c].

Again, it may be urged, that war resembles a disease, and peace a state of health. In one, the sick are recovered; but the other destroys those that are well. That in peace also the old are buried by the young, as the course of nature requires: but in war, the young are buried by the old. And again; that in the time of war we are not safe within the walls of our cities; but that in peace there is full security, even to the farthest limits of the country. The other motives which he mentions are of a like kind with these.

EXTRACT THE EIGHTH.

Men conversant in affairs are alone properly qualified for writing history.

THERE are two organs given to man by nature, through which all information, and all knowledge of things, is derived, the hearing and the sight; and of these, the latter is by much the most conformable to truth. For the testimony of the eyes, as Heraclitus observes, is far more exact than that of the ears. But Timæus, in making his enquiries, had recourse to the easiest, though the least preferable, of these two methods; and never employed his eyes, but only his ears. And even still more; as the knowledge which is gained by hearing is also of two sorts: the one derived from reading books, and the other from interrogating other men; Timæus, as we have already shewn, took no pains to obtain the latter. What determined his choice in this respect is not difficult to be discovered. The knowledge that is acquired by reading is gained without any danger, or any kind of toil. If a man will only fix his residence in the neighbourhood of a

[c] Chorus from the Cresphontes.

library, or in a city that abounds with written memoirs, he may make his researches with perfect ease; and, reposing himself with full tranquillity, may compare the accounts, and detect the errors, of former writers. But the knowledge which is drawn from personal examination and enquiry, is attended with great fatigue and great expence. It is this, however, which is the most important; and which gives indeed the chief value to history. Historians themselves are ready to acknowledge this truth. For thus Ephorus says; that if it was possible for the writers of history to be present at all transactions, such knowledge would be preferable to any other. To the same purpose is that passage of Theopompus; that the experience which is gained in battle renders a man a consummate general: that practice in pleading causes forms the perfect orator; and that the same observation is just with respect to the arts of navigation and of medicine. The poet also inculcates the same truth with still greater force. For designing to shew, in the person of Ulysses, what kind of qualities would render a man fit for the administration of affairs, he describes him in the following words:

> Sing, Muse, the man, for various arts renown'd,
> Who wander'd long through many different climes.

And afterwards:

> Oft through the deep with heartfelt anguish borne,
> To distant nations he his course essay'd,
> Their cities visited, their manners knew.

And in another place he says, that he had experienced

> The rage of battles, and the boisterous wave [d].

Now such a man also is it, in my judgment, that would alone be able to give a proper figure to history. It was said by Plato, that human affairs would then be well administered, when philosophers should be kings, or kings philosophers. In the same manner I would say, that history would be well composed if those who are

[d] Odyss. b. i. l. and Iliad, b. xxiv. 8.

engaged in great affairs would undertake to write it; not in a slight and negligent manner, like some of the present age; but regarding such a work as one of the noblest and most necessary of their duties, and pursuing it with unremitted application, as the chief business of their lives; or if those, on the other hand, who attempt to write, would think it necessary to be also conversant in the practice of affairs. Till this shall happen there will be no end of mistakes in history. Now Timæus never used the least endeavours to acquire such practice; but confining his residence to a single place, in which also he was a stranger, he even industriously renounced an active life; was acquainted neither with politics, nor war; nor ever exposed himself to the fatigue of visiting distant countries, and of making personal enquiries. And yet this man has gained the reputation of being an excellent historian. I know not, for my own part, upon what such pretensions can be grounded; especially as he has himself acknowledged, that a good historian should possess the qualifications which have been here enumerated. For, in the preface to his sixth book, he takes notice of an opinion which some persons had advanced, that the demonstrative kind of writing required greater genius, greater labour, and a greater stock of knowledge, than history. This notion, as he says, had before given offence to Ephorus; and, because that writer had not been able sufficiently to refute it, he endeavours to state, and to compare together, these two kinds of composition. * * * *

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Avarice compared to a dropsy. Deceit and artifice are too generally practised in public affairs. The different conduct of the Achæans; and in some degree also of the Romans.

AS in the case of those who are diseased with a dropsy, no application of liquors from without is sufficient to remove or allay the thirst, unless the internal disposition of the body be first changed by proper remedies; in the same manner also the desire of gain is never to be satisfied, unless reason be employed to correct the vicious inclination in the mind.

There are many who employ that dark and treacherous policy which has now been mentioned; and yet no one will deny that such a conduct is utterly unworthy of a king. But because arts like these are now common in the world, some men are willing to suppose, that the practice of them is become altogether necessary in the administration of public affairs. The Achæans, however, at all times were distinguished by different sentiments. So far were they from forming any secret designs against their friends, in order to enlarge their power, that they disdained even to subdue their enemies with the assistance of deceit. In their opinion, victory was neither honourable nor secure unless it was obtained in open contest, and by the force of superior courage. Upon this account they established it as a kind of law among them, never to use any concealed weapons, nor to throw darts at a distance; being persuaded that an open and close engagement was the only

fair method of combat. From the same reason it was, that they not only made a public declaration of war, but sent notice also, each to the other, of their resolution to try the fortune of a battle, and of the place likewise in which they had determined to engage. In the present times a general is supposed to be ignorant in his profession if he discovers his intentions. Among the Romans alone, some slight traces of the ancient virtue still remain. For they make beforehand a denunciation of war; they seldom form ambuscades; and they fight always man to man in close engagement. But, in general, artifice so much prevails, that it is now become the chief study of men to deceive each other, both in the administration of civil affairs and in the conduct of war. And this it was which gave occasion to these reflections.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The designs of Philip against the Rhodians. The character of Heraclides.

PHILIP, being willing to give a proper subject to Heraclides for the exercise of his abilities, commanded him to contrive some method for disabling or destroying the Rhodian fleet; and at the same time sent some ambassadors to Crete, to excite the people of that island against the Rhodians, and prevail with them to join him in the war. Heraclides, whose nature was well adapted to any ill design, received this commission with joy; and, after some time employed in regulating his plan, sailed away to Rhodes. This Heraclides was originally from Tarentum; and was born of vulgar parents, who exercised some mechanical trade. He possessed all the qualities that are requisite to form a daring and licentious profligate. From his earliest age he abandoned himself to the most scandalous prostitution. He had a ready conception, and a strong memory; was bold and terrible to his inferiors,

but a base flatterer of those who were above him. He had first been forced to leave Tarentum on account of a suspicion that was entertained against him, as if he had designed to betray the place to the Romans. Not that he at that time possessed any authority in the city; but being an architect, under the pretence of making some repairs in the walls, he had gotten into his hands the keys of the gate which led into the country. He then took refuge among the Romans; and, while he remained in their camp, entered again into a correspondence with Annibal, and sent letters to Tarentum. But being discovered, and dreading the consequences of his treason, he fled into Macedon; and, having insinuated himself into the confidence of Philip, gained afterwards so great a power over him, that he was almost the principal cause of the ruin of that mighty kingdom.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

The force of Truth.

FOR my part I am persuaded, that there is not in nature a greater goddess, or any that has a stronger power over men, than Truth. For, though all unite in opposition to her, and though falsehood draws up a whole train of probabilities, and sets them in array against her, she triumphs, I know not how, single and unsupported, and forces her way into the heart. Sometimes her power is instantly discerned. Sometimes she is obscured for a while; but appears at last in perfect splendour, and surmounts by her own force alone the falsehood under which she has been oppressed.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

The cruelty of Nabis the tyrant of Sparta.

THE Lacedæmonian tyrant Nabis, though he had now for three years held the government, was deterred by the ill fortune of Machanides, who had so lately been defeated by the Achæans, from attempting any thing of importance; but employed himself in forming the design, and laying the foundations of a severe and lasting tyranny. With this view, he seemed determined to destroy all that were now left in Sparta: driving into banishment the citizens that were most distinguished by their wealth or families; and distributing their possessions and their wives among the chief of those that were attached to his party, and among the mercenaries that were retained in his service. These were all of them assassins, house-breakers, nightly thieves, and robbers. For he spared no pains to collect together persons of this sort from every quarter: men whose crimes had forced them to abandon their own countries. Of all these, he was the declared protector and the sovereign: and, as he had formed them also into a guard for his person, it was manifest that he had determined to maintain his power by wickedness and violence. And indeed, not satisfied with driving the citizens into banishment, he resolved that they should find no safety even in the places to which they fled, nor any retreat secure. For some were destroyed upon the road by messengers whom he sent to overtake them; and others brought back again and killed. In the cities also in which they had fixed their abode, having hired, by the means of unsuspected persons, the houses that were adjoining to those in which any of the exiles lived, he sent thither some Cretans, who made holes in the walls, and, shooting arrows through the openings, killed some as they were standing, and others as they reposed themselves in their own houses. Thus the unhappy Lacedæmonians were in

no time or place secure: and in this manner great numbers of them were destroyed.

He contrived also a machine, if it may be called indeed by such a name; an image of a woman, magnificently dressed, and formed in a most exact resemblance of his wife. And when his intention was to draw money from any of the citizens, he invited them to his house, and at first with much civility represented to them the danger with which their country was threatened from the Achæans; the number of mercenaries which he was forced to retain in pay for the sake of the common safety; and the great cost of maintaining the worship of the gods, as well as the other articles of public expence. If these arguments prevailed, it was sufficient for his purpose. But if all his solicitations were without effect, he then used to say, I want, it seems, the power of persuasion; but Apega, I believe, will be able to persuade you. Apega was the name of his wife. Upon these words, the image of the woman that has been mentioned immediately appeared. Nabis then, taking her by the hand, raised her from her seat; and folding afterwards his arms round the person whom he had been soliciting, brought him near by degrees to the body of the image, whose breasts, hands, and arms, were stuck full with points of iron, concealed under the clothes; and then, pressing the back of the pretended woman with his hands, by the means of some secret springs he fixed the man close to her breast, and soon forced him to promise all that he desired. But there were some also who perished in this torture, when they refused to comply with his demands.

BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

The conduct and exploits of Publius Scipio in Afric. He sets fire to the camps of Asdrubal and Syphax. The Carthaginians draw together a new army: and are defeated in a set engagement. They resolve to recal Annibal from Italy, and to continue the war.

CHAP. I.

WHILE the consuls were employed in these affairs, Publius Scipio, who remained still in Afric, having received information during the winter that the Carthaginians were getting ready a fleet, resolved to put his own fleet also in order, but not to relinquish his design of laying siege to Utica. He still encouraged also in himself the hope which he had conceived, that he should be able to bring back Syphax again to the Roman party. With this view, taking advantage of the neighbourhood of the two armies, he urged him by continual deputations; and was persuaded that he should at last be able to draw him away from his alliance with the Carthaginians. For, when he considered, on the one hand, that it was the nature of the Numidians to pass soon from enjoyment to disgust; and, on the other, that they were no less ready to break through their engagements to the gods and men; he had scarcely any doubt, but that this prince was already satiated, not only with his wife, for whose sake he had joined the Carthaginians, but in general also with his new allies. But while his mind was thus filled with different cares, and agitated by no less various hopes, unable as he

was to contend openly in the field against the enemy, whose numbers were far superior to his own, he took the occasion that was offered to carry into execution an attempt of a different kind, in the manner which we are now going to relate.

Some of the messengers, whom he had sent to Syphax, informed him at their return, that the tents in which the Carthaginians were lodged during the winter were framed of wood of every kind, and of the branches of trees, without any mixture of earth: that those of the Numidians, who were from the beginning in the army, were composed wholly of reeds: that the rest of the Numidians, who had been drawn lately from the cities, had framed their tents only with branches; and that, though some of them were lodged within the intrenchment, the greatest part remained without. Having considered therefore with himself, that, if he could set fire to the camps, it would be an action not less surprising to the enemy than serviceable to his own designs, he began to take the measures that were necessary for that purpose. In the course of all the deputations, it had still been urged by Syphax, that the Carthaginians should retire from Italy, and the Romans also from Afric: and that both of them should retain possession of all that they then held between those two countries. To this time, Publius had utterly rejected these conditions. But his messengers were now instructed to suggest some little hope to Syphax, that it was not impossible but that his offer might be accepted. The Numidian, softened by this expectation, was more earnest to continue the intercourse that was begun; and suffered the messengers to go and to return more frequently and in greater numbers than before. Sometimes they even remained whole days, without being observed in either camp. Upon these occasions, Publius always sent among his messengers some persons of experienced prudence, and some officers concealed under a vulgar dress, or disguised in the habit of slaves; that they might carefully observe the approaches and the

entrances of both the camps. For there were two different camps: one occupied by Asdrubal, with thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and another, at the distance of ten stadia from the former, possessed by the Numidians, whose numbers amounted to ten thousand horse, and at this time to about fifty thousand foot. The latter, as it was easiest of approach, was the best suited also to the purpose of being set on fire; because the Numidians, as I have already said, had framed their tents, not of wood nor of earth, but only of straw and reeds.

When the spring then was come, Scipio, having obtained all the information that was requisite for carrying into execution this design against the enemy, set all his ships afloat, and stored them with military machines, as if his purpose had been to attack Utica on the side of the sea. At the same time he sent away a body of two thousand foot, who took possession again of the hill which commanded the city; and began to fortify it, and to throw up an intrenchment round it with the greatest diligence. By this measure likewise he induced the enemy to believe, that he had nothing in view but the siege. But his true intention was, to leave these men as a body of reserve; that they might be ready, when the time of the expedition should come, to intercept the garrison of Utica, if they should sally out after the departure of the army, and attack the camp that was near, or attempt to invest the troops that would be left to guard it. While he was employed in these preparations, he sent also again to Syphax, desiring to be informed, whether he was satisfied with the terms that had been proposed: whether the Carthaginians also were ready to receive them; or whether these last would not again pretend, that they wanted a longer time to deliberate upon them. He ordered the messengers also not to return, till they had received an answer to each of these demands. The Numidian had now no doubt, but that Scipio was sincere in his desire

of peace: both because he had ordered the messengers not to return without an answer, and had seemed likewise more particularly careful to be assured of the consent of the Carthaginians. He sent therefore immediately to Asdrubal, informing him of all that had been done, and urging him to accept the peace that was offered: and himself in the meanwhile passed his time without any care or caution, and suffered the Numidians, who came from time to time to the army, to remain without the intrenchment. Publius on his part also affected the same shew of negligence; but in reality was still most intent upon the execution of his design.

As soon as Syphax had received notice from the Carthaginians that he might finish the treaty, he with great joy communicated the answer to the Roman deputies, who then returned back to their own camp, to inform their general what the king had done. But Scipio immediately sent them back again to acquaint him, that for his own part he was still firm and earnest in his desire of peace: but that his council were of a different opinion, and had resolved that the war should be continued. His design in sending this message was, that he might not be charged with any breach of faith, if he should commence hostilities while the conferences still subsisted for a treaty. This declaration being made, he thought that whatever he should attempt would be free from all approach and blame.

As Syphax had already conceived the strongest hopes of peace, he was much grieved at this unexpected change, and went himself to Asdrubal to acquaint him with the resolution of the Romans. The two generals, being thus filled with new disquietude, deliberated long together, concerning the measures that were now proper to be pursued. But both their apprehensions and their designs were very far distant from the truth. For they conceived not a thought of any danger threatening them, or of taking any precaution for their own security: but were intent only on

the means of attempting something against the enemy; and earnest to contrive some method of drawing them to a battle in the open country.

Before this time Scipio, both by his preparations, and by the orders which he gave, had induced the whole army to believe, that his intention was to take Utica by surprise. But now having assembled together the ablest of the tribunes, and those that were most worthy of his confidence, he disclosed to them his design; commanded them to take their supper at the usual hour; and that, as soon as the trumpets should have all sounded, according to the custom, they should draw the legions out of the camp. For the Roman custom is, to sound all the trumpets of the army, immediately after supper, near the tent of the general; as the signal for placing in their respective posts the guards of the night. He then ordered the persons also to be called, who had been employed as spies to inspect the camps of the enemy; compared together and closely examined their accounts of the ways and entrances; and took the opinion of Massanissa concerning all that they reported, because he especially was well acquainted with the country. And when all his measures were adjusted, having left a sufficient body of troops to guard the camp, he began his march towards the enemy, who were at the distance of about sixty stadia from him, at the end of the first watch; and, arriving near them about the end of the third, he allotted one half of the Romans, and all the Numidians, to Lælius and Massanissa, and ordered them to attack the camp of Syphax. He exhorted them to behave themselves like men of courage; to do nothing without due consideration; and to remember, that, in nightly expeditions, as much as the darkness was an impediment to action, so much should this disadvantage be compensated by valour and by prudence. Taking then the rest of the army, he advanced, but with a slow pace, towards the camp of Asdrubal. For his intention was,

not to attempt any thing on his part, till Lælius should have first set fire to the Numidian camp.

This general then and Massanissa, having divided their forces into two bodies, approached the camp of the enemy, and began the work. As the camp seemed framed, as I have said, for the very purpose of being set on fire, no sooner was the flame thrown by the foremost troops, and had seized the first tents, than in a moment, because the tents were crowded close together, and the quantity of the matter also, which fed the conflagration, was extremely great, the evil was such as could admit no remedy. Lælius, keeping his troops together, remained in his post, and stood as a reserve: while Massanissa distributed his men among all the passages, through which he knew that the enemy would endeavour to save themselves from the flames. Not any of the Numidians, nor even Syphax himself, had the least suspicion of the truth; but supposed that the fire had happened by some accident. With this persuasion, either wakened from their sleep, or starting, full of liquor, from their nightly revels, they leaped hastily from their tents. Many of them were trampled down in the crowds that filled the passages of the camp. Many were intercepted as they fled, and perished in the fire. And the rest, who escaped the flames, fell all under the sword of the enemy; and were destroyed before they knew either what they were doing or what they suffered.

The Carthaginians, when they beheld from their camp the greatness of the fire, and the height to which the flames were raised, supposed also that the misfortune had happened by accident. While some of them therefore went in haste to carry assistance, the rest, running all out of their tents, stood without arms before the intrenchment, and viewed with astonishment the dreadful spectacle. Scipio, perceiving that all things had happened as he desired, fell upon those that were come out; killed one part, and pursuing the rest, at the same time threw fire

also upon their tents. In an instant the same scene of conflagration and of slaughter appeared in the Carthaginian camp, as in that of the Numidians. Asdrubal used no endeavours to extinguish the flames. He now clearly perceived that the fire in the Numidian camp had not happened by accident, but from the bold attempt of the Romans. He began therefore only to consider by what means he might escape with safety; though indeed he had but little hopes of being able to accomplish even that design. For the fire had spread itself with great rapidity, and encircled every part. All the passages also of the camp were filled with horses, with beasts of burden, and with men: some of them half dead, and destroyed by the flames; and some driven from their senses by astonishment and horror. Such disorder and confusion, which was sufficient to appal even the stoutest courage, seemed likewise to preclude every hope of safety. Syphax also and his officers were in the same condition. The two generals however at last found means to escape with a small body of horse. But the other thousands, and ten thousands, of men, of horses, and of beasts of burden, most miserably perished in the flames: or those among the men, who escaped the violence of the fire, were encountered by a foul and a dishonourable death. For they not only were without their arms; but some, even without their clothes, were cut down by the enemy naked as they fled. In a word, every place was filled with lamentable shrieks; with disordered cries; with frantic consternation; with confused and undistinguishable noise. With all these there was a devouring fire, and flames hurled to a tremendous height. Any one of these things alone would be sufficient to strike terror into the human heart: how much more all of them together? It is not possible indeed to shew any thing like the disaster; or to form any image of the greatness of it by any comparison. So much do the most dreadful accidents that have hitherto been known fall below the horrors of this most astonishing scene. And in truth, though

Scipio was distinguished by a course of many glorious actions, there is none, in my judgment, among all that he performed, so glorious, or so adventurous, as this exploit.

When the morning appeared, and the enemies were all either killed or dispersed in flight, he exhorted the tribunes, and pursued without delay after those that had fled. Asdrubal, though he received notice of his approach, remained for some time in the city to which he had retired, trusting to the strength of the place. But when he perceived that the inhabitants were preparing to rise against him, not daring to wait the arrival of the Romans, he again continued his flight with the rest that had escaped. The number of these was five hundred horse, and about two thousand foot. The inhabitants were then quiet, and surrendered themselves to the Romans at discretion. Scipio spared the place; but gave two cities that were near to be plundered by the army, and then returned back again to his own camp.

CHAP. II.

THE Carthaginians were heavily affected by this great loss. The designs which they had formed were now entirely frustrated; and all their prospects fatally reversed. For they had flattered themselves with the hopes that they should be able to invest the Romans, both by land and sea, upon the hill adjoining to Utica, which was the seat of their winter quarters; and had directed all their preparations to that purpose. But now they are not only forced, by a most strange and unexpected accident, to leave the enemy in possession of all the open country; but have reason also to fear that their whole state would soon be exposed to the most imminent danger. Their consternation, therefore, and their apprehensions were extreme. As the condition however of affairs required that something should be determined with respect to future measures,

the senate met together, but in great perplexity, and was distracted by confused and different sentiments. For some were of opinion that Annibal should be called home from Italy; as if the only hope that now remained was in that general, and in his army. Some again advised that deputies should be sent to Publius to obtain a truce, and to enter into conferences for a treaty. But others exhorted the assembly to resume their courage; to raise new forces; and to send some messengers to Syphax, who had retired to Abba, a city at no great distance, and was employed in collecting together all those that had escaped from the late misfortune. And this was the opinion which at last prevailed. They ordered Asdrubal therefore to make new levies; and sent to Syphax, entreating him to assist them, and to remain firm to his first engagements; at the same time assuring him that their general very soon would join him with another army.

Scipio was at this time intent on his first design of forming the siege of Utica. But when he heard that Syphax remained in his post, and that the Carthaginians were raising a new army, he collected together all his forces, and encamped before that city. At the same time, having made also a distribution of the spoil, he sent merchants to purchase it; which was done with very great advantage. For the soldiers, considering the late success as a certain assurance of the entire conquest of all the country, were ready to sell their shares of the booty at the smallest rates.

Syphax and his friends had at first resolved to continue their retreat, and to return back to their own country. But a body of four thousand Celtiberians, whom the Carthaginians had just now taken into their pay, having met this prince in the neighbourhood of Abba, he was so much encouraged by this additional strength, that he remained where he then was, and began to assume new confidence. And when his young wife also, the daughter, as we have said, of Asdrubal, joined all her power of entreaty, to pre-

vail with him not to desert the Carthaginians in the present exigency, he at last suffered himself to be persuaded, and complied with all that she desired. The Carthaginians themselves had conceived likewise no small hopes from the arrival of these succours. Instead of four thousand, it was pretended that ten thousand Celtiberians were arrived: and, that their courage, and the manner in which they were armed, would render them invincible. This report, as it filled every mouth, and was spread universally among the people, inspired the troops especially with so great confidence, that they were impatient once more to take the field. At the end therefore of thirty days, they came and joined the Numidians and the Celtiberians, and encamped in the place that was called the Great Plains; forming all together an army of thirty thousand men.

As soon as it was known in the Roman camp that the enemy had again taken the field, Publius resolved to advance towards them. Having given the necessary orders therefore to the fleet, and to the troops that were employed in the siege of Utica, he began his march with the rest of the army, disencumbered of all their baggage; and, arriving on the fifth day in the neighbourhood of the Great Plains, fixed his camp upon a hill, at the distance of thirty stadia from the enemy. On the next day, he descended into the plain, and formed his troops in order, placing his cavalry at the distance of seven stadia before the rest. In this situation, both the armies remained during the two following days, and only made trial of their strength in little skirmishes. But on the fourth day, the generals, agreeably to their design, drew out their forces on both sides, and ranged them in order of battle. The disposition that was made by Publius was simply the common disposition of the Romans. The hastati were first placed in front; behind these the principes; and, lastly, the triarii in the rear. Upon the right wing stood the Roman cavalry: the Numidians and Massanissa upon the left. On the side of Asdrubal and Syphax, the Celtibe-

rians were drawn up in the centre, opposite to the Roman cohorts; the Numidians upon the left wing; and the Carthaginians upon the right. But the Numidians, even in the first onset, fled from the charge of the Roman cavalry; and the Carthaginians from that of Massanissa. So much was their courage broken by the late defeats. The Celtiberians alone stood firm, and maintained the fight with vigour: having but little reason to hope, either that they could escape by flight, as they were wholly unacquainted with the country; or, that their lives would be spared, if they should fall into the power of the Romans. For, as Scipio had committed no hostility against them in the course of the war in Spain, they seemed clearly to have violated the laws of good faith and justice, by taking arms in favour of the Carthaginians. When the wings, however, were broken, these troops were soon surrounded by the principes and the triarii, and were almost all of them destroyed in the place, after they had performed the greatest service for the Carthaginians, not only in the battle, but in securing also their retreat. For if the Romans had not been retarded by this obstacle, but had immediately pursued those that fled, scarcely any part of the army would have been able to escape. But while they were stopped by the brave resistance of these troops, Syphax, with his cavalry, found means to retreat to his own kingdom; and Asdrubal, with the rest that were saved, to Carthage.

The Roman general, as soon as he had given the necessary orders concerning the prisoners and the spoil, called together his council, to deliberate on the measures that were next to be pursued. In this assembly it was determined, that Publius, with one part of the army, should go round to the several cities; and that Lælius and Massanissa, with the Numidians, and a part also of the Roman legions, should follow Syphax, and not allow him time to stand, or to make any new preparations. These resolutions were immediately carried into execution.

Among the cities, some were struck with terror, and surrendered themselves voluntarily to the Romans: and others, being invested by them upon their first approach, were immediately taken by storm. Through all the country indeed, so grievous were the distresses which the long continuance of the war had brought upon the people, and so heavy the tributes that were imposed, that all things were ready for a change.

In the city of Carthage, the minds of men, which had before been much disordered, were now filled with new and greater consternation. Their whole hopes indeed seemed at once to sink under this second blow, and to give place to voluntary despair. There were some, however, among the firmest of the senators, who advised, that they should send a fleet to Utica, and endeavour to raise the siege of that city, by attacking the Roman fleet, which was wholly unprepared for an engagement; and that Annibal also should be recalled from Italy, and a trial be made of that resource without any farther delay. They insisted, that both these measures, as far as it could reasonably be judged, would be productive of very salutary consequences. But it was urged by others, that the times would not now bear any such remedy: that their present business was to fortify the city, and to put it into a condition to sustain a siege: that, if the citizens would only agree in sentiments, chance itself would afford many opportunities of retrieving their affairs. At the same time they advised, that a consultation likewise should be held concerning peace; and, that they should seriously consider, by what kind of treaty, and upon what conditions, they might be delivered from the present evils. After long and vehement debates, all these opinions were adopted by the senate. As soon, therefore, as the assembly was dissolved, the messengers that were to be dispatched to Annibal set sail for Italy: the commander of the naval forces went on board of the fleet: and the rest employed themselves in putting the city into a state proper for defence, and in holding constant

deliberations together, concerning each particular measure that was fit to be pursued.

The Roman army, having marched through all the country, and not met with any resistance, was loaded with an immense booty. Publius, therefore, resolved to send away the greatest part of the spoil to be stored in his first camp; and, when he had thus lightened the army, to march and invest Tunis, and to encamp in the very sight of the Carthaginians; being persuaded, that by this boldness he should strike them most effectually with terror and dismay.

The Carthaginians, having completed in a few days their naval forces, together with the necessary stores, were just now ready to sail out to sea, and to carry into execution the design that has been mentioned. On the arrival of Publius at Tunis, the garrison fled from the place, and relinquished it to the Romans. Tunis is situated at the distance of a hundred and twenty stadia from Carthage, and may be seen from almost every part of the city. It has already been mentioned, that both art and nature had concurred in making it a place of very uncommon strength. But scarcely had the Romans finished their encampment, when they discovered the Carthaginian fleet directing their course towards Utica. Publius, therefore, being apprehensive that the consequences would be fatal to his own fleet, which neither expected such an attempt, nor was prepared against it, immediately decamped, and marched also towards Utica with the greatest haste. On his arrival, perceiving that his decked ships were well fitted indeed for the purpose of raising machines, and carrying them near the walls; and, in a word, for every other use that is requisite in a siege, but were in no respect prepared for an engagement upon the sea; considering also, on the other hand, that the Carthaginians had employed the whole time of winter in preparing their fleet for this very design; he resolved not to engage

in a naval action: but, having drawn up the decked ships close to the shore, he covered them with a line of the transport vessels, which were ranged by two and by three in depth. * * * *

BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Scipio sends ambassadors to Carthage, to demand a restitution of some vessels which had been taken by the Carthaginians during the truce. The perfidious attempt of the Carthaginians against the ambassadors. The war is renewed on both sides. The preparations of Annibal and Scipio. The interview between these two generals. The battle of Zama.

CHAP. I.

PUBLIUS was in no small degree disturbed by this perfidious action. Not only his own provisions were lost, but the enemy also were at the same time furnished with a very plentiful supply. But the chief cause of his concern was, that the Carthaginians, in making this attempt, had been guilty of an open violation of the late solemn treaty; and that the war again was kindled. He sent, therefore, Lucius Servilius, Lucius Bæbius, and Lucius Fabius, ambassadors to Carthage, to complain of this transaction; and at the same time to acquaint the Carthaginians, that he had received letters from Rome, with an account that the treaty had been ratified by the Roman people. When the ambassadors arrived, and were introduced first into the senate, and afterwards into an assembly of the people, they discourse on the whole state of affairs with very great boldness. They began with telling the Carthaginians, "that when the ambassadors, who had been deputed by them to the Roman camp, arrived at Tunis, and were admitted to appear before the council, they not only made

libations to the gods, and adored the earth, as the custom is among other men, but prostrated themselves also in an abject manner upon the ground, and kissed the feet of all the assembly. That afterwards, when they arose again, they made a voluntary confession of their guilt; and acknowledged, that they from the first had violated the treaties which subsisted between the Carthaginians and the Romans. That they were sensible, therefore, that the latter might most reasonably inflict upon them every evil. That they implored them however, in the name of the common fortune of mankind, not to punish them with too great severity; but rather to suffer their inconsiderate folly to become a lasting monument of the Roman generosity and virtue." The ambassadors then added: "That Scipio, and all the members of the council, who remembered this transaction, were now struck with surprise, and not able to conceive what confidence it was, that had induced the Carthaginians to forget all which they had at that time spoken, and to violate again their treaties and their oaths. That it seemed indeed most probable, that the return of Annibal, and of the army that was with him, had encouraged them in this bold design. That nothing, however, could be more absurd and senseless. For do not all men know," continued they, "that it is now the second year since Annibal, compelled to retire from every part of Italy into the neighbourhood of Lacinium, has been confined, and as it were besieged, in that narrow space; and has now brought away his forces with the greatest difficulty. But if he had even returned with conquest, and was ready to engage us; victorious as we have been against you in two successive battles, you ought surely to entertain very doubtful expectations of success; and, while you flatter yourselves with the prospect of a victory, to take also into your consideration the possible chance of another defeat. And if the latter should be the event, what gods will you then invoke; or what arguments will you employ in your distress, to draw the compassion of the

conquerors towards you; when your perfidiousness and your rash attempt shall have rendered you alike unworthy of the protection of the gods and of men?"

The ambassadors after this discourse retired. There were but few among the Carthaginians who advised any adherence to the treaty. The greatest part, not only of those who directed the administration of the government, but of the rest also of the members of the council, beside that they were dissatisfied with the conditions which the Romans had imposed, were incensed also by the boldness of the ambassadors. Add to this, that they were unwilling to lose the vessels that had been taken, and the supplies with which they were stored. But the chief and most prevailing reason was, that they had conceived the greatest hopes that, with the assistance of Annibal, they should now draw the victory to their side. The resolution, therefore, of the assembly was, that the ambassadors should be sent back without any answer. But the chief persons also in the government, having determined to leave no means untried that might serve to rekindle the war, concerted between themselves the following project. Pretending that some care at least should be taken, that the ambassadors might return back to their own camp with safety, they prepared two triremes to attend them. At the same time they sent orders to Asdrubal, who commanded their fleet, that he should hold some vessels in readiness not far from the Roman camp; and, as soon as these triremes should have left the Romans, that he should bear down upon the vessel in which the ambassadors sailed, and sink it. For the Carthaginian fleet was at this time stationed along those parts of the coast that were near to Utica. They then suffered the ambassadors to depart; having first ordered those that attended them in the triremes, that, as soon as they should have passed beyond the mouth of the river Macar, which was the place from whence the camp of the enemy might be discerned, they should there leave the Romans, and return. Agreeably to these in-

structions, the commanders of the triremes, when they arrived at the appointed place, saluted the Romans, and directed their course back again to Carthage. The ambassadors had no suspicion of any ill intention; and only were dissatisfied, because it seemed that the Carthaginians shewed some contempt towards them in leaving them so soon. But as they held on their course alone, they were suddenly attacked by three triremes, which had been prepared for the design. As these vessels, however, could not pierce with their beaks the Roman quinquereme, because the latter easily withdrew itself from the stroke; so neither were the men able to throw themselves on board, because the Romans resisted all their efforts with the greatest bravery. The Carthaginians, therefore, shifting their ships from side to side, and continuing the fight from every quarter, killed and wounded a great number of the Romans; till the latter, perceiving that some soldiers from their own camp, who had been foraging near to the coast, were drawn together upon the shore, and ready to assist them, drove their vessel close in to the land. The greatest part of the men that were on board had been killed in the action; but the ambassadors were most strangely and unexpectedly preserved. Thus was the war resumed with greater violence than before, and with a more implacable rage. For the Romans, incensed by this perfidious action, were now most earnest in their desire to bring the Carthaginians into an entire subjection. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, being conscious of their guilt, resolved to attempt and suffer every thing, rather than fall into the power of the Romans. When such was the disposition on both sides, it was manifest that the contest could only be decided by a battle. The minds of all men therefore, not in Italy alone and Afric, but in Spain, in Sicily, and in Sardinia, were held in suspense, and distracted by an anxious expectation of the event.

As Annibal was at this time in great want of cavalry, he sent to a certain Numidian, named Tychæus, whose terri-

tory was contiguous to that of Syphax, inviting him to seize the very moment of his safety, and to join him with his forces. For he could not but know, that if the Carthaginians should be superior in the war, he might still be able to hold possession of his kingdom; but if the Romans, on the other hand, should remain the conquerors, the ambition of Massanissa would soon deprive him not only of his dominions but of his life. Tychæus was prevailed on by these reasons, and came and joined him, as he desired, with a body of two thousand horse.

Publius, having regulated all things that were necessary for the security of the fleet, left the command to Bæbius, and himself led the army round the country to reduce the cities; not suffering any to surrender upon terms of voluntary submission as before; but taking all of them by storm, and sending the inhabitants into slavery; that he might shew more strongly the resentment which he had conceived against the enemy on account of their late perfidy. He sent also continual messengers to Massanissa, to inform him of the manner in which the Carthaginians had broken the treaty; and urging him to draw together as large a body of forces as he was able to raise, and to join him with the greatest haste. For Massanissa, as we have already mentioned, as soon as the treaty was concluded, taking with him his own troops, together with ten companies of Roman infantry and cavalry, and some Roman deputies which he had obtained from Scipio, had gone from the camp, in order not only to recover his paternal kingdom, but with the assistance of the Romans to add that of Syphax also to his own dominions. And this design he had now completely executed.

CHAP. II.

ABOUT this time it happened, that the ambassadors, returning back from Rome, arrived at Utica, where the

fleet of the Romans lay. Bæbius sent away immediately the Roman ambassadors to Publius: but detained those of Carthage; whose minds, dejected as they were upon other accounts, were now filled with apprehensions of the greatest danger. For, having heard of the late wicked attempt of the Carthaginians against the Roman ambassadors, they expected to suffer all the vengeance that was due to so base an action. When Publius was informed, that both the senate and people had readily confirmed the treaty, and were disposed also to concur with him in every measure, he was filled with no small joy. He then ordered Bæbius to dismiss the Carthaginian ambassadors with all civility. This resolution was, in my judgment, very wise and commendable. For, as he knew his country had always paid the most sacred regard to the rights of ambassadors, he considered only what was fit for the Romans to do upon such an occasion, and not what the Carthaginians deserved to suffer. Suppressing, therefore, his own anger, and the resentment that was due to the late transaction, he endeavoured to maintain, as the poet expresses it, "The glorious deeds of his progenitors:" and, by this conduct, he broke the spirit of all that were in Carthage, and even of Annibal himself; when they saw their own baseness opposed and conquered by such generous virtue.

The Carthaginians, impatient to behold their cities wasted and destroyed, sent some messengers to Annibal, entreating him not to admit any longer delay, but to advance towards the enemy, and to bring things to a decision by a battle. This general answered, that they should attend to their own business: that it belonged to him alone to choose the time for repose and the time for action. But, after some days, he began his march from Adrumetum, and went and encamped in the neighbourhood of Zama; a city which stood at the distance of about five days' journey from Carthage towards the west. From this place he sent three spies, to examine into the situation and condition of the Roman camp. These men were dis-

covered by the enemy, and were carried to the general. But so far was Publius from punishing them, as the custom is upon such occasions, that he ordered a tribune to attend them, and to shew them distinctly every part of the camp. When this was done, he asked the men, whether the tribune had faithfully executed his order. And when they answered that he had; having furnished them with provisions, and some troops also to conduct them, he ordered them to go back, and report to Annibal the exact account of all that had happened to them. The Carthaginian general, struck with the magnanimity and boldness of the action, conceived, I know not how, a desire to enter into a conference with Scipio; and sent a herald to acquaint him, that he should be glad to hold some discourse with him on the state of affairs alone. Publius, when he had received this message, told the herald, that he accepted the offer; and that he would send notice to Annibal of the time and the place in which they might meet. On the following day, Massanissa arrived at the camp, and brought with him six thousand foot, and about the same number of horse. Scipio received him with great favour; and congratulated him upon his success, in having prevailed upon all the subjects of Syphax to receive him as their prince. He then put the army in motion, and went and encamped in the neighbourhood of Margarus; in a post which, beside other advantages, had water within the throw of a dart. From this place he sent notice to the Carthaginian general, that he was ready to engage in a conference with him. On receiving this message, Annibal also decamped; and, approaching to the distance of no more than thirty stadia from the Romans, fixed his camp upon a hill, which, though in other respects well situated, was rather too far removed from water. And indeed the soldiers were upon this account exposed to very great hardship.

On the following day, the two generals came out from their several camps with a small body of horsemen: and afterwards, leaving these, they advanced forwards, and

approached each other, attended only by an interpreter. Annibal first saluted Scipio, and began in the following manner:

"Well would it have been, if the Romans had never coveted any thing beyond the extent of Italy, nor the Carthaginians beyond that of Afric; but had both of them remained contented with the possession of those fair empires, which nature itself seems indeed to have circumscribed with separate bounds. But, since we engaged in war against each other, first to acquire the sovereignty of Sicily, and afterwards that of Spain; since at last, like men infatuated by fortune, we advanced so far together in our preposterous course, as to bring even the safety of our own native seats into alternate danger; that danger which you have so lately known, and to which we also at this moment are exposed; what now remains, but to endeavour, by ourselves, to deprecate the anger of the gods, and find some means, if it be possible, of putting an end to this most obstinate contention. I for my part, who have seen in the course of a long experience the great inconstancy of fortune, with how slight a turn she effects on either side the greatest changes, and that she sports with us continually as with children, am most ready to consent to a peace. But much do I fear, that you, Publius, who still are in the flower of your age, whose designs both in Spain and Afric have all been attended with success, and who have never hitherto been driven back again in your course by any adverse blast, will be inclined to different sentiments, and not be moved by my persuasions, how worthy soever they may be of credit. Yet consider only and observe, at least in one example, the instability of human affairs; an example, not drawn from distant times, but which is present now to your eyes. In a word, view it in me who am before you. I am that Annibal, who after the battle of Cannæ was master of almost the whole of Italy; and, having advanced not long afterwards into the very neighbourhood of Rome, fixed my camp

within forty stadia only of the city, and deliberated with myself in what manner I should dispose of you and of your country. Behold me now, returned back again to Afric, and holding a conference with you a Roman, concerning my own safety, and that of all the Carthaginians. Let this example incline you to embrace moderate sentiments; and to judge in this conjuncture, as it becomes a man to judge; that is, to choose always the greatest good, and the least of evils. And surely no man of sense would ever voluntarily meet the danger to which you are now exposed. For if you should gain the victory in the present battle, you will add but little either to the reputation of your country, or your own. But, if you should be conquered, the whole fame and glory of all your former actions will be for ever lost. What then is the purpose of this discourse? It is to inform you, that the countries which have been the objects of our wars, Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, shall be yielded to the Romans; and that the Carthaginians at no future time shall attempt to recover by arms the possession of those territories. To the Romans, likewise, shall belong all the islands which lie between Sicily and Afric. These conditions, while they leave Carthage in security, are at the same time, in my opinion, highly honourable both to yourself and to all the Romans."

Here Annibal ended his discourse; and Scipio answered in the following words:

"It was well known," he said, "that the Carthaginians, and not the Romans, were the cause both of the war of Sicily, and of that of Spain: that Annibal himself was most perfectly acquainted with this truth; and that the gods also had borne testimony to it, by turning the success to the side, not of those who had unjustly attacked, but of those who had taken arms in their own defence." He then added likewise; "that no man was more strongly impressed than himself with a just sense of the instability of fortune, and the uncertain course of human affairs.

But with respect," continued he, "to the terms which you offer; if, before the Romans had come into Afric, you had retired from Italy, and proposed to us the same conditions of peace, you would not perhaps have been disappointed in your hopes. At this time, when you have been forced most reluctantly to abandon Italy, and we on the other hand have passed over into Afric, and have rendered ourselves the masters of all the open country, it is clear that the state of affairs is very considerably changed. But, beside this difference, there is something also of much greater moment. When your countrymen were defeated, and sued for peace, we refused not to accede to their request. A treaty was framed in writing; which, beside those concessions which you have now proposed, contained also the following articles: That the Carthaginians should restore without ransom all the Roman prisoners; should deliver up to us their decked ships; should pay a sum of five thousand talents; and, in the last place, that they should give hostages for the performance of all that was imposed. Such were the conditions, to which we on both sides gave consent. We then deputed jointly some ambassadors to Rome, to lay the treaty before the senate and the people: on our part intimating, that we approved of the conditions; the Carthaginians, on the other hand, requesting even with entreaty that they might be accepted. They were accordingly admitted by the senate, and were ratified by the people. But no sooner had the Carthaginians obtained what they desired, than they annul at once the whole treaty by an action of the grossest perfidy. After such a conduct, what remains to be done? Put yourself in my place, and answer. Shall we release them now from all the heaviest of the conditions that were before imposed? This would, indeed, be an admirable method, by bestowing a reward upon their treachery, to teach them to deceive in future times the persons by whom they had been obliged. Or think you, if they could obtain their wish, that they would hold themselves indebted to us for

the favour? They before obtained what with the most earnest supplication they desired. And yet, no sooner had they conceived some faint hopes from your return, than they again disclosed their enmity, and renewed hostilities against us. If you had added, therefore, some conditions still more rigorous, the treaty might have been once more carried before the Roman people. But since you have detracted even from those that were admitted, the terms which you now propose cannot so much as be referred to their consideration. To what then tends also my discourse? It is to acquaint you, that you either must submit yourselves and your country to us at discretion, or must conquer us in a battle." After these discourses, which left no hopes of an accommodation, the two generals parted from each other, and retired.

On the following day, as soon as the dawn appeared, they drew out their forces on both sides, and prepared to engage; the Carthaginians, for their own safety and the possession of Afric; the Romans, for the sovereignty of the whole, and for universal empire. Is there any one that can forbear to pause at this part of the story, or remainun moved by the relation? Never were there seen more warlike nations: never more able generals, or more completely exercised in all the art and discipline of war: never was a greater prize proposed by fortune, than that which was now laid before the combatants. For it was not Afric alone, or Italy, that waited to reward the conquerors; but the entire dominion of the whole known world. And this indeed was not long afterwards the event. Scipio drew up his army in battle in the following manner. He placed in the first line the hastati, leaving intervals between the cohorts. In the second, the principes; but posted their cohorts, not, as the Roman custom was, opposite to the intervals, but behind the cohorts of the former line, and at a considerable distance from them, on account of the great number of elephants that were in the Carthaginian army. Last of all, in the third line, he

drew up the triarii. Upon the left wing he stationed Caius Lælius, with the cavalry of Italy; and Massanissa and the Numidians upon the right. The intervals of the first line he filled with companies of the light-armed troops, who were ordered to begin the action; and, if they should find themselves too violently pressed by the elephants, that the swiftest of them should retire through the straight intervals, to the rear of all the army; and the rest, if they should be intercepted on their way, direct their course to the right or left, along the open distances that were between the lines. When his disposition was thus completed, he went round to all the troops, and harangued them in few words, but such as the occasion seemed to require.

"Remember," said he, "your former victories; and shew now a courage worthy of yourselves and of your country. Let it be ever present to your view, that, by gaining the victory in this battle, you not only will become the masters of all Afric, but secure to Rome the undisputed sovereignty of the rest of the world. If, on the other hand, you should be conquered, they who fall bravely in the action, will obtain an honour far more glorious than any rites of sepulture, the honour of dying for their country; while those that shall escape, must be condemned to pass the remainder of their lives in the extremity of disgrace and misery. For Afric will afford no place of safety; and, if you fall into the hands of the Carthaginians, what your condition must be, your own reason will easily instruct you to foresee. But may none of you ever know it by experience. When fortune then," continued he, "has offered to us upon either side so noble a prize, universal empire or a glorious death, how lost must we be both to honour and to sense, if we should reject these the greatest of goods, and choose, through a desire of life, the most insupportable of evils. When you advance therefore against the enemy, carry that resolution with you into action, which is sure always to surmount the

strongest resistance. Be determined either to conquer or to die. Retain not so much as a thought of life. With such sentiments, the victory cannot fail to be your own."

Such was the harangue of Scipio. Annibal, on his part, having placed the elephants, more than eighty in number, at the head of all the army, formed his first line of the mercenaries; who were a mixed multitude of Gauls, Ligurians, Balearics, and Maurusians, and amounted together to about twelve thousand men. Behind these were the Carthaginians and the subject Africans. The third line was composed of the troops which he had brought with him from Italy; and was placed at the distance of more than a stadium from the second line. The cavalry was posted upon the wings; that of the Numidian auxiliaries upon the left, and the Carthaginian cavalry upon the right. He ordered the officers who commanded the different bodies of the mercenaries, to exhort severally their own soldiers, and to encourage them to be assured of victory, since they were now joined by Annibal and his veteran forces. The leaders of the Carthaginians were instructed, on the other hand, to lay before their view the fatal consequences of a defeat; and to enumerate all the evils, to which their wives and children would be exposed. And while these orders were obeyed, he himself going round to his own troops, addressed them with the greatest earnestness, and in words like these:

"Remember, soldiers, that we have now borne arms together during the course of seventeen years. Remember in how many battles we have been engaged against the Romans. Conquerors in them all, we have not left to the Romans even the smallest hope that they ever should be able to defeat us. But beside the other innumerable actions in which we always obtained the victory, remember also, above all the rest, the battle of Trebia, which we sustained against the father of that very general who now commands the Roman army; the battle of Thrasymene, against Flaminius; and that of Cannæ, against Æmilius.

The action, in which we are now ready to engage, is not to be compared with those great battles, with respect either to the number or the courage of the troops. For turn now your eyes upon the forces of the enemy. Not only they are fewer; they scarcely make even a diminutive part of the numbers against which we were then engaged. Nor is the difference less with respect to courage. The former were troops whose strength was entire, and who had never been disheartened by any defeat. But these before us are either the children of the former, or the wretched remains of those very men whom we subdued in Italy, and who have so often fled before us. Lose not then, upon this occasion, the glory of your general, and your own. Preserve the name which you have acquired; and confirm the opinion which has hitherto prevailed, that you are never to be conquered."

When the generals had thus on both sides harangued their troops, and the Numidian cavalry for some time had been engaged in skirmishing against each other, all things being now ready, Annibal ordered the elephants to be led against the enemy. But the noise of the horns and trumpets, sounding together on every side, so affrighted some of these beasts, that they turned back with violence against their own Numidians, and threw them into such disorder, that Massanissa dispersed without much difficulty that whole body of cavalry which was on the left of the Carthaginian army. The rest of the elephants, encountering with the light-armed forces of the Romans in the space that was between the armies, suffered much in the conflict, and made great havoc also among the enemy; till at last, having lost all courage, some of them took their way through the intervals of the Roman army, which afforded an open and safe passage for them, as Scipio wisely had foreseen; and the rest directing their course to the right, were chased by darts from the cavalry, till they were driven quite out of the field. But, as they occasioned likewise some disorder upon their own right wing in their

flight, Lælius also seized that moment to fall upon the Carthaginian cavalry: and, having forced them to turn their backs, he followed closely after them; while Massanissa on his side was pursuing the Numidian cavalry with no less ardour.

And now the heavy-armed forces on both sides advanced to action with a slow and steady pace; those troops alone excepted which had returned with Annibal from Italy, and which remained still in the station in which they at first were placed. As soon as they were near, the Romans, shouting all together, according to their custom, and rattling their swords against their bucklers, threw themselves upon the enemy. On the other side the Carthaginian mercenaries advanced to the charge with confused and undistinguishable cries. For as they had been drawn together, as we have said, from different countries, there was not among them, as the poet expresses it,

> One voice, one language found;
> But sounds discordant as their various tribes[a].

In this first onset, as the combatants were so closely joined that they were unable to make use of their spears, or even of their swords, and maintained the action hand to hand, and man to man; the mercenaries, by their boldness and dexterity, obtained at first the advantage, and wounded many of the Romans. But the latter, assisted by the excellence of their disposition and the nature of their arms, pressed forward, and still gained ground; being supported also by the rest of their own army, who followed and encouraged them from behind. The mercenaries on the other hand were neither followed nor supported. For the Carthaginians that were behind them came not near to assist them in the action, but stood like men who had lost all courage. At last therefore the strangers turned their backs; and thinking themselves manifestly to have been deserted by their own friends, they fell,

[a] Iliad, iv. 437.

as they retired, upon the Carthaginians that were behind, and killed them. The latter, however, fell not without a brave and vigorous defence. For being thus unexpectedly attacked, and compelled to fight both with their own mercenaries and with the Romans, they exerted their utmost efforts, and engaging with a frantic and disordered rage, made a promiscuous slaughter of friends and enemies. Amidst this confusion the hastati also were so pressed, that they were forced to break their ranks. But the leaders of the principes, perceiving the disorder, brought up their troops close behind to support them: so that, in the end, the greatest part of the Carthaginians and the mercenaries were destroyed in the place; partly by themselves, and partly by the hastati. Annibal would not suffer the rest that escaped to be received into the third line, towards which they fled; but ordered the foremost ranks to point their spears against them as they approached. They were forced, therefore, to retire along the wings into the open plain.

As the whole ground that was between the forces which now remained was covered with blood, and slaughter, and dead bodies, the Roman general was in no small degree perplexed; being apprehensive that this obstacle would prevent him from obtaining a complete and perfect victory. For it seemed to be no easy thing to lead on the troops, without breaking their ranks, over bleeding and slippery carcases, thrown one upon another; and over arms which were scattered in confusion, and preposterously intermingled with the heaps of the dead. Having ordered the wounded, however, to be carried into the rear of the army, he called back the hastati from the pursuit, and drew them up in order as they returned, in the forepart of the ground upon which the action had passed, and the opposite to the centre of the enemy. He then commanded the principes and the triarii to close their ranks, to form a wing on either side, and to advance over the dead. And when these troops, having surmounted all the intermediate

obstacles, were come into the same line with the hastati, the action was then begun on both sides with the greatest eagerness and ardour. As the numbers were nearly equal; as the sentiments, the courage, and the arms on both sides were the same; the battle remained for a long time doubtful. For so obstinate was the contention, that the men all fell in the place in which they fought. But Lælius and Massanissa, returning back from the pursuit of the routed cavalry, arrived most providentially in the very moment in which their assistance was chiefly wanted, and fell upon the rear of Annibal. The greatest part, therefore, of his troops were now slaughtered in their ranks. And, among those that fled, a very small number only were able to escape; as they were followed closely by the cavalry through an open country. Above fifteen hundred of the Romans fell in the action. But, on the side of the Carthaginians, more than twenty thousand were killed, and almost an equal number taken prisoners. Such was the battle between Annibal and Scipio; the battle which gave to the Romans the sovereignty of the world.

When the action was ended, Publius, after he had for some time pursued those that fled, and pillaged the camp of the Carthaginians, returned back to his own camp. Annibal, with a small number of horsemen, continued his retreat without stopping, and arrived safe at Adrumetum: having performed, upon this occasion, all that was possible to be done by a brave and experienced general. For first, he entered into a conference with his enemy; and endeavoured by himself alone to terminate the dispute. Nor was this any dishonour to his former victories; but shewed only that he was diffident of fortune, and willing to secure himself against the strange and unexpected accidents which happen in war. In the battle afterwards, so well had he disposed things for the action, that no general, using even the same arms, and the same order of battle as the Romans, could have engaged them with greater advantage. The order of the Romans in battle is very difficult to be

broken; because the whole army in general, as well as each particular body, is ready always to present a front to their enemies, on which side soever they appear. For the cohorts by a single movement turn themselves together, as the occasion requires, towards the side from whence the attack is made. Add to this, that their arms also are well contrived, both for protection and offence; their bucklers being large in size, and their swords strong, and not easily injured by the stroke. Upon these accounts they are very terrible in action, and are not to be conquered without great difficulty. But Annibal opposed to each of these advantages the most effectual obstacles that it was possible for reason to contrive. He had collected together a great number of elephants, and stationed them in the front of his army; that they might disturb the order of the enemy, and disperse their ranks. By posting the mercenaries in the first line, and the Carthaginians afterwards in a line behind them, he hoped to disable the Romans by fatigue, before the battle should be brought to the last decision; and render their swords useless by continual slaughter. As he had thus placed the Carthaginians also between two lines, he compelled them to stand; and, as the poet has said,

> Forced them by strong necessity to fight,
> However loath [b].

In the last place he drew up the bravest and the firmest of his troops at a distance from the rest; that, observing from afar the progress of the action, and possessing their whole strength as well as their courage entire, they might seize the most favourable moment, and fall with vigour upon the enemy. If therefore, when he had thus employed all possible precautions to secure the victory, he was now for the first time conquered, he may very well be pardoned. For fortune sometimes counteracts the designs of valiant men. Sometimes again, according to the proverb,

[b] Iliad, iv. 30.

A brave man by a braver is subdued.

And this indeed it was which must be allowed to have happened upon the present occasion.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The Carthaginians in the most abject manner sue for peace. The conditions upon which it is granted by Scipio. The sentiments of Annibal, and his behaviour in the senate of Carthage upon this occasion.

WHEN men, in lamenting the wretchedness of their fortunes, exceed in their actions all the customary forms of grief, if their behaviour seems to be the effect of genuine passion, and to arise only from the greatness of their calamities, we are all ready to be moved by the strangeness of the sight, and can neither see nor hear them without commiserating their condition. But, if these appearances are feigned, and assumed only with an intention to deceive, instead of compassion, they excite indignation and disgust. And this was now what happened with respect to the Carthaginian ambassadors. Publius told them in few words, "That, with regard to themselves, they had clearly no pretensions to be treated with gentleness or favour; since, by their own acknowledgment, they had at first begun the war against the Romans, by attacking Saguntum in contempt of treaties; and now lately again had violated the articles of a convention, which they had ratified in writing, and bound themselves by oaths to observe. That the Romans, however, as well upon their own account, as in consideration also of the common condition and fortune of humanity, had resolved to display towards them upon this occasion a generous clemency. That such indeed it must appear to themselves to be, if they would view all circumstances in a proper light. For, since fortune, having first precluded them, by the means of their own perfidious conduct, from every claim to mercy or to pardon, had now

thrown them wholly into the power of their enemies; no hardships which they should be forced to suffer, no conditions which should be imposed, no concessions which should be exacted from them, could be considered as rigorous or severe: but rather it must appear to be a matter of astonishment, if any article of favour should be yielded to them." After this discourse, he recited first, the conditions of indulgence which he was willing to grant; and afterwards, those of rigour to which they were required to submit. The terms which he proposed to them were these:

"That they should retain all the cities which they held in Afric, before the beginning of the last war which they had made against the Romans; and all the lands likewise which they had anciently possessed, together with the cattle, the men, and the goods that were upon them. That from the present day, all hostilities against them should cease. That they should be governed by their own laws and customs; and not receive any garrison from the Romans." Such were the articles of favour: the others, of a contrary kind, were these:

"That the Carthaginians should restore all that they had taken unjustly from the Romans, during the continuance of the truce. That they should send back all the prisoners and deserters that had at any time fallen into their hands. That they should deliver up all their long vessels, ten triremes only excepted; and likewise their elephants. That they should not make war at any time upon any state out of Afric; nor upon any in Afric, without the consent of the Romans. That they should restore to king Massanissa, the houses, lands, and cities, and every thing besides, that had belonged to him, or to his ancestors, within the limits which should hereafter be declared. That they should furnish the Roman army with corn sufficient for three months; and pay also the stipends of the troops, till an answer should be received from Rome, confirming the conditions of the treaty. That they should

pay ten thousand talents of silver, in the course of fifty years; bringing two hundred Euboic talents every year. That, as a security for their fidelity, they should give a hundred hostages; which should be chosen by the Roman general out of all their youth, between the age of fourteen and of thirty years."

As soon as Publius had finished the recital of these articles, the ambassadors returned back in haste to Carthage, and reported the terms that were proposed. Upon this occasion, when one of the senators was going to object to the conditions, and had begun to speak, Annibal, it is said, stepped forwards, and taking hold of the man, dragged him down from his seat. And, when the rest of the senate appeared to be much displeased at an action so injurious to the customs of that assembly, he again stood up, and said, "That he might well be excused, if his ignorance had led him to offend against any of their established forms. That they knew, that he had left his country when he was only nine years old; and had now returned to it again at the age of more than forty-five. He entreated them, therefore, not so much to consider, whether he had violated any custom, as whether he had been moved by a real concern for the distressed condition of his country. That what he had felt upon that account was indeed the true cause of his offence. For that it appeared to him to be a most astonishing thing, and altogether preposterous, that any Carthaginian, not ignorant of all which their state in general, as well as particular men, had designed against the Romans, should not be ready to worship his good fortune, when, having fallen into their power, he now found himself treated by them with so great clemency. That, if the Carthaginians had been asked but a few days before, what their country must expect to suffer, if they should be conquered by the Romans, they would not have been able to make any answer: so great, so excessive were the calamities which were then in prospect. He begged, therefore, that they would not now bring the conditions

into any debate, but admit them with unanimous consent: offering sacrifices at the same time to the gods; and joining all together in their prayers, that the treaty might be ratified by the Roman people." This advice appeared to be so sensible, and so well suited to the present exigency, that the senate resolved to consent to a peace upon the terms which have been mentioned; and immediately sent away some ambassadors to conclude the treaty.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

The unjust designs of Philip and Antiochus against young Ptolemy; with a reflection on the manner in which those princes afterwards were punished.

IT is strange to consider, that, as long as Ptolemy lived, Philip and Antiochus were ready always to support him, though he wanted not their assistance; and yet no sooner was he dead, and had left an infant son, than these princes, whose duty it was, according to the laws of nature, to maintain the child in the possession of his kingdom, combined together to share his dominions between themselves, and to destroy the helpless orphan. Nor did they even endeavour, like other tyrants, to cover the shame of this proceeding so much as with the slightest pretext; but prosecuted their design with such barefaced and brutal violence, as made the saying very applicable to them, which is commonly used concerning fishes; that the destruction of the small, though they are all of them of the same kind, is the life and nourishment of the great. We need only to turn our eyes indeed upon the treaty that was made between the two kings upon this occasion; and we shall behold, as in a glass, the strongest picture of their avowed impiety, their savage inhumanity, and their ambition extended beyond all bounds. If any one, however, should be disposed to censure fortune, and indeed with good shew of reason, for admitting such injustice in the

course of human affairs; he will judge perhaps more favourably, when he considers, that afterwards she punished both these princes in the manner which their actions merited, and exposed them as a memorable warning, to deter all those who in future times might be inclined to follow their example. For, while they were practising all the arts of treachery against each other, and tearing away by pieces the dominions of the infant king; this deity, having raised up the Romans against them, inflicted upon them, with the most exact measure of justice, those very evils which they had unjustly meditated against others. Subdued each of them in his turn, they were at first compelled to submit to the imposition of a tribute, and to receive orders from the Romans. And in the end, before any long time had elapsed, the dominions of Ptolemy were established again in full security: while, on the other hand, the kingdom and the successors of Philip were entirely subverted and destroyed; and those of Antiochus very nearly also involved in the same calamities.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

The Cianians, a people of Bithynia, are conquered and carried into slavery by Philip. Reflections on the cause of their misfortune, and the conduct of the king.

THESE great calamities, indeed, in which the Cianians were involved, ought not to be ascribed so much to fortune, or even to the unjust designs of others against them, as to their own want of wisdom, and the wrong administration of their government. For, as they raised continually the very worst men into the posts of honour, and punished all those that opposed their measures, for the sake only of enriching themselves with the spoils of the plundered fortunes, they threw themselves, as it may be said, with their own free consent, into all that wretchedness which is the necessary result of such a conduct.

Examples of this kind are frequent and notorious: and yet men, I know not how, never cease to fall into the same imprudence. They seem not to entertain even the smallest diffidence upon such occasions; but are worse in this respect than animals that are destitute of reason. For these, not only if they have extricated themselves before with difficulty from any trap or snare, but even if they have seen any other animal in danger, are not easily led to the like again, but suspect the very place, and distrust every thing that is before their eyes. But men are strangers to all this caution. Though they have heard that many have been lost by the ill conduct that has now been mentioned; though they see others perishing through the same imprudence; allure them only with the prospect of enriching themselves with the spoils of others, they catch greedily at the bait, which they are assured has been in all times fatal to those who have tasted it, and pursue those very measures which are acknowledged to have been pernicious to every government.

Philip, when he had so well succeeded in this design, and rendered himself master of the city, was elated with no small joy. He thought that he had performed an honourable and a glorious action. For he had brought the speediest succour to his son-in-law in his distress; he had struck a terror into all those that were inclined to oppose him; and had gained, as he supposed, by the fairest means, a very great booty in prisoners and in money. But the circumstances that were opposite to these he never once considered, though they were indeed sufficiently notorious. For first, he had assisted his son-in-law, not when he was unjustly attacked, but when he had himself made war upon his neighbours in direct breach of treaties. In the next place, by involving a Grecian city, without any just cause, in the most dreadful calamities of war, he confirmed the opinion which before was entertained concerning his inhuman treatment of his allies; and taught all posterity to consider him, upon both these

accounts, as a man who paid no regard to the most sacred obligations. Thirdly, this action was a very gross insult upon the ambassadors, who had come to him from the cities, in order to rescue the Cianians from their danger. For while they were encouraged to remain, and were soothed by him with daily conferences, they were forced to be spectators of those very evils which they had wished most earnestly not to see. Add to all this, that the Rhodians now held him in so great abhorrence, that they would not so much as suffer the name of Philip to be any more mentioned among them. Indeed chance itself conspired to raise against him this aversion. For when his ambassador, in a studied discourse which he addressed to the people in the theatre at Rhodes, was endeavouring to display the great generosity of his master; who, though he had at this time the city of the Cianians almost wholly in his power, was willing, as he said, to yield it as a favour to the Rhodians, and to refute by such indulgence the calumnies of those that opposed his interests, as well as to give also a most signal proof of his affection towards their state; it happened that a certain man arrived from the fleet, and related in what manner the Cianians had been carried into slavery, and the whole cruelty that had been exercised upon the occasion. These news being reported to the assembly by the first magistrate, at the very time when the ambassador was delivering his harangue, struck all the people with such astonishment, that they were scarcely able to believe that Philip could be guilty of so black a perfidy. And yet this prince, when by his treacherous conduct he had been false rather to himself than the Cianians, was so destitute of judgment, as well as lost to all sense of duty, that instead of feeling remorse and shame, he on the contrary boasted of the action, as if it had been a glorious and great exploit. From this time, therefore, the Rhodians regarded him as an enemy; and resolved to hold themselves in readiness to begin hostilities against him. Nor was the resentment less which the

Ætolians conceived against him upon the same account. For he had just before composed his differences with that people. And yet, in the very moment almost when he was extending his hands towards them, when not even any pretence could be urged to cover such a conduct, of the three cities, Chalcedon, Lysimachia, and Cianus, which had lately been received into a confederacy with them, he forced the two former to separate themselves from the alliance, and carried the inhabitants of the latter into slavery, though an Ætolian governor at that very time commanded in the place. With respect to Prusias, though he was pleased that his design had been attended with success, yet was he on the other hand no less dissatisfied when he found that all the advantages of the conquest were possessed by another, and that nothing remained for himself but the bare ground of a ruined city. He was forced however to bear what he had no power to remedy.

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

The lamentable destruction of Agathocles, the guardian of young Ptolemy, together with all his family, in a popular insurrection at Alexandria. His conduct and character. Some observations on the manner of relating tragical events in history.

CHAP. I.

AGATHOCLES, having ordered the Macedonians first to be assembled, appeared before them, bringing with him the young king, and attended by his sister Agathoclea. For some time he pretended that his tears flowed so fast that he was not able to speak. But when he had often wiped his face with his mantle, and seemed to have stopped the violent course of his grief, lifting up the child, "Receive," said he, "O Macedonians, this young prince, whom his father, when he was dying, delivered indeed into

the arms of my sister, but entrusted to your fidelity. The affection of my sister can now but little avail. His preservation depends upon you alone: in your hands rests all his fortune. It was notorious long ago to all men of judgment, that Tlepolemus was forming designs too high for his condition. He has now fixed the day, and even the hour, in which he has determined to assume the diadem. I ask not," continued he, "that you should give credit to me alone; but to those who have seen the truth, and who are just now come from being witnesses of the transaction." With these words, he introduced to them Critolaus, who declared that he had seen the altars ready, and the victims which the people had prepared for the celebration of the ceremony. But the Macedonians were so far from being moved with compassion towards him from this discourse, that they did not even attend to what he said: but began to sneer and to whisper together; and insulted him with so much scorn, that he scarcely knew in what manner he at last withdrew himself from the assembly. He then called together, in their proper assemblies, the other bodies of the soldiery; and was received with the same ill treatment by them all.

During the time of this confusion, many of the troops arrived continually from the armies that were in the upper provinces; and began to urge their kindred and their friends, to apply some remedy to the disorders of the state, and not suffer themselves any longer to be insulted by such unworthy governors. The people were the more easily engaged in this design, and began to fear that even the least delay might be attended with dangerous consequences, because Tlepolemus was master of the port of Alexandria, and had it in his power to stop all the provisions that should be coming to the city. Agathocles also himself helped greatly at this very time to provoke the rage of the multitude, as well as to incense Tlepolemus. For, as if he had been willing that the whole city should know that a difference subsisted between this general and himself, he

took Danaë, who was the step-mother of the former, from the temple of Ceres, and, having dragged her through the streets with her face uncovered, threw her into prison. This action so exasperated the minds of all men, that they no longer communicated their discontent in private confidence, and with secrecy, as before; but fixed up writings in the night in every part of the city; and in the day-time assembled together in parties, and declared aloud their detestation of the government.

Agathocles, perceiving this disposition of the people, began now to apprehend some fatal consequences. Sometimes he resolved that he would endeavour to escape by flight. But as he had been so imprudent as not to have made any of the necessary preparations for such a purpose, he was forced to desist from that design. Sometimes again, he was beginning to form associations of his friends; and seemed determined to make at least one desperate attempt: to destroy one part of his enemies; to seize the rest; and afterwards avowedly to usurp the tyranny. While he remained in this state of suspense, one of his guards, whose name was Mœragenes, was accused of betraying all his secrets to Tlepolemus, through the means of a correspondence with Adæus, the governor of Bubaste. Agathocles immediately gave orders to his secretary Nicostratus, that he should take this man, and force him by every kind of torture to declare the truth. He was seized accordingly; and, being conducted by Nicostratus into a remote apartment of the palace, was at first interrogated, as he stood, concerning the facts with which he was charged: and when he refused to confess any thing, he was stripped. The guards, some of them were preparing the instruments of torture, and others, with rods in their hands, were taking off his clothes; when a servant came running into the apartment, and, having whispered something to Nicostratus in his ear, retired again with the greatest haste. Nicostratus immediately followed him; speaking not a word, but smiting continually his thigh. The

situation in which Mœragenes now found himself was very singular and strange. The rods were already raised to strike him, and the instruments of torture lay ready at his feet; when the attendants, upon this departure of Nicostratus, stood motionless, and, looking one upon another, expected his return. After some time, as he came not back, they all gradually withdrew themselves from the apartment. Mœragenes, being thus left alone, passed through the palace unobserved, and came, naked as he was, into a tent of the Macedonians that was near. It happened that the soldiers were assembled together to take their dinner. He related to them all that had been done, and the surprising circumstances of his escape. Though the story appeared to be almost incredible, yet when they saw that he was still naked, they could not doubt of the truth. Taking occasion therefore from this accident, he began now with tears to entreat the Macedonians, not only to afford protection to himself, but to take the measures also that were necessary for the preservation of the king, or rather indeed for their own safety. For the destruction of them all was imminent and certain; unless they would seize the moment, when the hatred of the people against Agathocles, and their desire of vengeance, were at the greatest height. And this, he said, was now that moment; and nothing was wanting, but that some persons should begin the enterprise. The soldiers were raised into fury by this discourse; and consented to all that was proposed. They went first into the tents of the other Macedonians; and afterwards into those of the rest of the army. For they were all contiguous one to the other, and stood together on the same side of the city. As the disposition to revolt had long been general, and waited only to be called into action, no sooner was this spirit set in motion, than it spread every way like a raging flame; so that, before four hours had passed, all orders and ranks of men, both in the camp and in the city, were united in the same design. An accident also at this time happened, which

tended greatly to facilitate the success of the undertaking. Some spies were brought to Agathocles, together with a letter which had been written by Tlepolemus to the army. The purport of the letter was, that Tlepolemus was preparing to join the army; and the spies declared, that he was now ready to come. On receiving these news, Agathocles seemed to be bereaved at once of all his understanding. For, instead of preparing himself for action, or taking any of the measures which such an exigency required, he calmly retired to his repast, and indulged himself in all the pleasures of his table in the usual manner.

But Œnanthe, oppressed with grief, went into the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which was now opened for the celebration of an annual sacrifice. At her first entrance, she fell upon her knees, and supplicated the protection of the goddesses with the most soothing prayers. She then sat down near the altar, and was quiet. Many of the women who were present beheld her grief and her dejection with a secret pleasure, and said nothing. The relations only of Polycrates, and some others of rank, not knowing the cause of her disorder, came near to her, and were beginning to comfort her. But Œnanthe cried out with a loud voice, "Approach me not, wild beasts as you are; I know you very well; you are enemies to our interests, and are praying the goddesses to inflict upon us the worst of evils: but I hope on the contrary, that they will force yourselves to feed upon your own children." With these words, she ordered her attendants to drive them from her, and even to strike those that should refuse to retire. The women therefore all left the temple; lifting up their hands to heaven, and imploring the gods, that Œnanthe herself might feel those curses which she had imprecated upon others. And as the men already had determined to revolt, this resentment of their wives, being now spread through every house, added new strength to the rage with which they were before inflamed.

As soon as night was come, in the whole city nothing

was to be seen but tumult, lighted torches, and people running to and fro in every part. For some assembled themselves together in the stadium with loud cries; some animated the rest; and some, running every way in disorder, sought for houses and secret places in which they might lie concealed. All the open spaces that were near to the palace, the square, the stadium, and the court that were round the theatre of Bacchus, were now filled with an innumerable multitude of people of every kind; when Agathocles, who had not long left his table, was awakened from sleep, full of wine, and informed of what had happened. Immediately collecting all his kindred, Philo only excepted, he went to the king; and, after some few words of lamentation, took him by the hand, and carried him up into the gallery that was between the Mæander and the Palæstra, and which led to the entrance of the theatre. He fastened behind him the first two doors, and passed on to the third, with only two or three guards, the king, and his own family. The doors were framed in the manner of an open lattice, and were fastened with double bars.

The numbers of the people that were drawn together from all parts of the city were now so great, that not only the open places, but the steps also and the roofs of the houses were covered with them. A confused noise and clamour was heard, from the voices of women and children mingled with those of the men. For such is the custom at Alexandria, as well as at Carthage, that, in tumults of this kind, the children are no less active than the men. When the day fully appeared, amidst the many undistinguishable cries, it was heard, however, above all the rest, that they called for the king. The Macedonians, therefore, now first advancing together in a body from their tents, took possession of the gate of the palace, which was the place of the royal audience. And, after some little time, being informed to what part the king had retired, they went round to the place, forced open the first doors

of the gallery, and, as they approached the second, demanded the child with loud cries. Agathocles, perceiving that the danger was so near, entreated the guards to go, and to declare to the Macedonians, "that he was ready to lay down the guardianship of the king, and all his other power; to divest himself of all his honours; and even to abandon all that he possessed. That he desired only that his life might be spared; and that small allowance yielded to him, which would be necessary for his support. That when he should have thus gone back again to his first condition, it would no longer be in his power, whatever might be his will, to do harm to any person." But the guards all refused to be employed in this service, till at last it was undertaken by Aristomenes; the same who held afterwards the chief administration of the government. This man was an Acarnanian by birth; and having, as he advanced in life, obtained the supreme direction of affairs in Egypt, he governed with a very high reputation both the king and kingdom; and demonstrated indeed no less ability in maintaining himself in that exalted station, than he had shewn before in flattering Agathocles during the time of his prosperity. For he was the first who, at a banquet, had presented to Agathocles alone of all the guests a golden crown; an honour never accustomed to be paid to any but kings. He had the courage also to be the first who wore a portrait of Agathocles in a ring. And when he had a daughter born, he gave her the name of Agathoclea. But this may be sufficient to mark his character.

This man then, having received the orders before mentioned, went out through a little wicket, and came to the Macedonians. He had scarcely spoken a few words, and begun to declare the intentions of Agathocles, when the soldiers attempted in the instant to strike their darts through his body. But some persons, having covered him with their hands, and appeased that first fury, ordered him immediately to return, and to tell Agathocles that he should either bring out the king, or not dare to come out

himself. When they had thus dismissed him, they advanced against the second door of the gallery, and forced it open. Agathocles, perceiving both by the answer that was brought, and by this new violence, with what rage the Macedonians were inflamed, extended now his hands through the lattice of the farthest door. Agathoclea likewise shewed her breasts, which she said had suckled the king. With the most suppliant words that could be uttered, they begged that at least their lives might be spared. But when neither their prayers nor their entreaties any thing availed, they at last sent out the child, together with the guards.

The Macedonians, when they had received the king, set him immediately upon a horse, and conducted him to the stadium. As soon as he appeared, the people broke together into the loudest shouts of acclamation and applause. They stopped the horse, took down the king, and conducted him to the seat in which their kings were accustomed to be seen. But the joy which the multitude shewed was still mingled with grief. For while they rejoiced that they had gotten the king into their possession, they were grieved, on the other hand, that the guilty persons were not taken, and brought to suffer a just punishment. They demanded, therefore, with continual clamour, that the authors of all the evils should be delivered up to the public vengeance. As the day was now far advanced, and the people still wanted the objects upon which they might vent their rage, Sosibius, who was the son of Sosibius, and was at this time one of the royal guards, had recourse to an expedient, the best indeed that could be devised, with respect both to the king and the public peace. Perceiving that the commotion was not likely to be appeased, and that the young prince also was uneasy at seeing himself surrounded by persons unknown, and terrified by the noise of a rude multitude, he went and asked him, whether he consented that those who had been guilty of

crimes against his mother and himself should be delivered up to the people. And when he answered, that he consented, Sosibius ordered some of the guards to declare this resolution to the people, and at the same time carried the king to his own house, which was near, to give him some refreshment. As soon as the intentions of the king were known, the whole place again resounded with shouts of approbation and of joy.

During this time Agathocles and Agathoclea had retired severally to their own apartments. Some of the soldiers from their own voluntary motion, and others urged by the people, soon went in search of them. But the first beginning of the slaughter that ensued was occasioned by the following accident. One of the parasites and servants of Agathocles, whose name was Philo, came drunk into the stadium; and, seeing what was the disposition of the people, told those who stood near him, that, as soon as Agathocles should appear, they would change their sentiments, as they had done before. Upon hearing these words, some began to revile him, and others punished him; and when he attempted to defend himself, they tore his clothes; and some struck the points of their spears into his body. He was then dragged along, still breathing, and with many insults, through the midst of the multitude. As the people had now tasted of blood, they were impatient to see the others brought out. In a short time afterwards Agathocles came first, loaded with chains. As soon as he appeared, some persons ran towards him, and instantly killed him. In this they performed the office, not of enemies, but of friends; for they saved him from the more dreadful death which his crimes deserved. After Agathocles, Nico was brought out; then Agathoclea naked, with her sisters; and afterwards all the rest of their kindred. Last of all, Œnanthe also was torn from the temple, and was brought naked on horseback into the stadium. All these were now abandoned to the fury of the

multitude. Some bit them with their teeth; some pierced them through with weapons; and some tore out their eyes. And as each of them fell, they were divided limb from limb, till they were all torn into pieces. For the anger of the Egyptians always is attended with most terrible cruelty. At the same time likewise, the young women who had been educated with Arsinoe, being informed that Philammon had come three days before to Alexandria from Cyrene, with a design to kill the queen, ran to his house: and, having forced their entrance, they murdered him with clubs and stones; strangled his son who was an infant; and then dragged his wife naked into the streets, and killed her. In this dismal manner perished Agathocles, Agathoclea, and all their kindred.

CHAP. II.

I AM not ignorant, indeed, with what pains some writers, in order to strike their readers with astonishment, have heightened this transaction into a most portentous story; and loaded it with a detail of studied observation, exceeding even the relation itself in length. Some of them, ascribing every thing that happened to the sole influence of fortune, attempt to paint in the strongest colours the inconstancy of that goddess, and to shew how difficult it is for men to secure themselves against her power. Others again, when they have represented all the circumstances to be indeed astonishing, endeavour afterwards to assign some probable causes of so wonderful an event. For my own part, I have resolved not to undertake the task of making any such reflections. For I cannot discover that Agathocles was distinguished either by his military skill and courage; or that he possessed in any considerable degree that happy dexterity in the administration of civil affairs which might deserve to be imitated; or lastly, that he ever

excelled in that talent of courtly intrigue, that refined and crafty policy, by the means of which Sosibius and many other ministers preserved through their lives a supreme influence over those princes who successively entrusted them with the management of their affairs. He was indeed in all respects the very reverse of these. For it was only the incapacity and weakness of Philopator which first raised him, with the astonishment of all men, into high authority. And when afterwards he had the fairest opportunity, upon the death of that prince, to maintain himself in his exalted station, he in a short time threw away, by the mere want of spirit and ability, both his power and his life. The story of a man like this needs no enlargement; nor affords any room for such reflections as might be drawn from the fortunes of that other Agathocles and Dionysius, the two tyrants of Sicily; and of some besides, who acquired a name by their ability and great exploits. The latter of the two here mentioned derived his origin from the very lowest of the people. The former left the wheel, the kiln, and the clay, as Timæus has said of him in the way of reproach, and came young to Syracuse. And yet each of them, in his time, raised himself to be the tyrant of that renowned and opulent city. Afterwards they became the sovereigns of all Sicily; and were masters likewise of many of the parts of Italy. Agathocles also formed still greater designs. For he even invaded Afric: and at last died in the full possession of all his honours. And from hence, it is said, when Publius Scipio, the first conqueror of Carthage, was asked what persons he judged to have been the most distinguished by their skill in government, and their wisdom in conducting the boldest enterprizes, he answered, Dionysius and Agathocles. These then are the men from whose actions a historian may take a fair occasion to stop his readers with reflections; to remind them of the power of fortune; to remark the course of human affairs; and, in a word, to inculcate many useful

lessons. But others, like the Agathocles whose fate we have described, are very unfit to be made the subjects of such discourse. Upon this account, I have related without any enlargement the bare circumstances of his fall. But there was also indeed another reason which determined me, with no less weight, to reject all amplification in the recital of this story. Those changes of fortune, which are dreadful and astonishing, should be exhibited in a single view, and so far only as that they may be barely known. To keep them afterwards in sight, and to exaggerate them in a long description, not only is attended with no advantage, but must even be painful to those to whom they are shewn. In every thing that is offered to the eyes or ears, the design should always be to convey either some utility, or some pleasure. All history especially should be directed constantly to these two ends. But an exaggerated description of astonishing accidents is certainly neither useful nor pleasing. It cannot be useful, because no one would wish to imitate what is contrary to reason: nor pleasing, because none can be delighted either with the sight or the relation of such events as are repugnant both to nature and to the common apprehensions of men. We may desire indeed once, and for the first time only, to see or to hear of such disasters, for the sake of being assured that some things may happen which we conceived to be impossible. But when we have this assurance, any lengthened repetition, forced upon us, only fills us with disgust. A historian therefore should be contented barely to relate what may serve for imitation, or may be heard with pleasure. An enlarged description of calamity, which exceeds those bounds, may be proper indeed for tragedy, but not for history. Some indulgence however may be allowed perhaps to those historians, who, because they neither have considered the works of nature, nor are acquainted with the general course of things in the world, are ready to regard the events which themselves have seen, or which they have greedily received from others, as the

greatest and most wonderful that have happened in any age. Misled by this persuasion, and not sensible of the mistake into which they have fallen, they set themselves to relate with large exaggeration transactions which have not even the praise of novelty, since they have before been recounted by others, and from which their readers also never can derive either advantage or delight. * * *

BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

The naval engagement between Attalus and Philip near the island of Chios.

PHILIP was now filled with great perplexity, and began to be extremely anxious with respect to the event. His progress in the siege had in no degree answered his expectation: and the enemy also were lying at anchor near him, with a greater number of decked ships than his own. As there was therefore no room left for choice, he suddenly sailed away with all his fleet. This motion occasioned no small surprise in Attalus; who expected that the king would still have continued the work of his mines against the city. But Philip had persuaded himself, that, by getting first out to sea, he should be secure from being overtaken by the enemy; and directing his course along the coast, might be able to arrive safe at Samos. He was however very greatly disappointed in his hopes. For Attalus and Theophiliscus no sooner saw that he was getting out to sea, than they resolved immediately to follow him. Their fleet was not formed in order: for they had expected, as we have said, that Philip would still have persisted in the siege. They exerted however their whole skill in rowing; and when they had overtaken the enemy, Attalus attacked the right, which was also the van of their fleet, and Theophiliscus the left. Philip, finding himself thus intercepted in his course, gave the signal to his ships upon the right, commanding them to turn their prows towards the enemy, and to engage with vigour: and him-

self with some boats retired to the little islands that were in the middle of the strait, designing to observe from thence the progress of the battle. His fleet consisted of fifty-three decked ships; besides open vessels, such as boats and long galleys, which were in number one hundred and fifty. Some others were left at Samos, which he had not been able to get ready. On the side of his enemies were sixty-five decked ships, including those sent by the Byzantines; and, beside these, nine biremes, and three triremes.

The vessel in which Attalus sailed began the combat; and the nearest of the ships on both sides, without waiting for any signal, immediately engaged each with the other as they approached. Attalus, having attacked an octireme, laid open the side by a fortunate stroke below the surface of the water; so that the vessel sunk at last to the bottom, though the men upon the deck maintained the fight for some time with the greatest bravery. Another vessel that belonged to Philip, carrying ten banks of oars, and which was the first ship in the fleet, was lost by a very strange accident. A bireme, having fallen under the prow of this large ship, was struck by the latter with so great violence, that all the art of the pilot was not able to draw out the beak, which was fixed fast in the middle of the hulk of the little vessel, just below the uppermost bank of the oars. At this very time two quinqueremes came up; and striking their beaks into both the sides of the large ship, which was so fixed in its position by the little vessel that was suspended from it that it was not able to move, sunk it to the bottom, together with all that were on board. Among these was Democrates, the chief commander of the fleet. About the same time likewise, Dionysidorus and Dinocrates, two brothers and commanders on the side of Attalus, were engaged, with circumstances not less singular, the one with a septireme, and the other with an octireme of the enemy. Dinocrates, who attacked the latter, having raised the prow of his vessel, received a

stroke in the part that was above the water, and at the same time struck his own beak so deep into the lower part of the octireme, that he was not able to draw it back, though he many times attempted it by lightening his stern. In this situation, he was so closely attacked by the Macedonians, that he found himself in the greatest danger. But Attalus, perceiving what had happened, bore down upon the octireme; and by the violence of the shock separated the two vessels, and set Dinocrates free. The Macedonians were all killed after a brave resistance; and the vessel remained in the power of the conquerors. Dionysidorus on his part, bearing down upon the septireme, missed his stroke; and, as he fell against the enemy, lost all the banks of his oars upon the right side of his vessel, and all the battlements of his deck. The Macedonians attack him on every side with loud shouts and cries. The vessel was soon sunk, together with all that were on board. Dionysidorus alone, and two others, saved themselves by swimming to a bireme that was near. Among the rest of the ships that were engaged, the contest was more equal. The advantage which Philip had in the number of his small vessels was balanced by the strength of the decked ships on the side of Attalus. And, though the hopes of success were the most promising on the side of Attalus, the vigour of the Macedonians in the right of the fleet rendered the victory at this time doubtful.

The Rhodians, when they first sailed out to sea, were at a very great distance behind the enemy, as we before have mentioned. But as they far exceeded them in the swiftness of their course, they soon reached the rear of the Macedonian fleet; and began to attack the vessels in stern, as they were sailing from them, and to break their banks. The Macedonians were then forced to turn, and assist the ships that were thus attacked. And when the rest of the Rhodian vessels were come up, and had joined Theophiliscus, the whole fleets on both sides turned their prows, the one against the other, and amidst the sound of trum-

pets, and the noise of animating cries, engaged in set battle with the greatest ardour. The action however would have been determined in a very short time, and with little difficulty, if the Macedonians had not intermingled some small vessels among their decked ships, and by that measure frustrated in various manners the efforts of the Rhodian fleet. For no sooner was the order of battle broken by the first shock, and the ships mingled together in confusion, than these small vessels, falling in among the rest, either stopped them in their course, or prevented them from turning, and employing with advantage their proper strength; and, by obstructing sometimes the working of the oars, sometimes by attacking the prow, and sometimes again the stern of the larger ships, rendered the skill of the pilots, and the dexterity of the rowers, alike unserviceable. When any of the ships were engaged beak with beak, the Rhodians indeed displayed their superior art. For setting their own vessels low upon the prow, while they received the stroke of the enemy above the water, they at the same time struck the adverse ships below it, and made such breaches as were irreparable. It was but seldom however that they availed themselves of this advantage. Deterred by the vigour which the Macedonians shewed, in maintaining the fight hand to hand against them from their decks, they in general declined the danger of a close engagement; and chose rather to run through the fleet of the enemy, and to break the oars; and then, returning again, to direct their strokes against the stern of the vessels, or against the sides, as they were turning themselves obliquely from them; and either pierced them with their beaks, or carried away some part that was necessary for the working of the ship. By this method they destroyed a very great number of vessels in the Macedonian fleet.

There were three Rhodian quinqueremes, that were distinguished in a very remarkable manner in this engagement. One of these was the vessel in which Theophiliscus

sailed, who was the commander of the fleet. Philostratus was captain in the second. The third had Nicostratus on board, and was commanded by Autolychus. The last of these ships had struck one that belonged to the enemy with so great violence, that the beak was left sticking in the vessel. The ship that was struck soon sunk with all the men; and the other, while the water flowed in fast at the prow, was surrounded on every side by the enemy. Autolychus defended himself for some time with the greatest courage; till, being covered with wounds, he at last fell with his arms into the sea. The rest that were on board maintained the fight with no less bravery, till they were all likewise killed. At this time Theophiliscus advanced towards them. Not being able to save the vessel, which was already filled with water, he struck two ships of the enemy, and forced out all that were on board. But being soon surrounded by a very great number both of light and heavy vessels, he lost the greatest part of his men after a brave resistance. And having himself also received three wounds, and being pressed by the most imminent danger, he at last with great difficulty saved his ship through the assistance of Philostratus, who had the courage to take his place in the action. Being then joined by some other vessels, he returned once more to fight; and, though the strength of his body was much weakened by his wounds, yet such was the vigour of his mind, that he distinguished himself by more glorious efforts, and by a courage more astonishing than before.

In this battle there were properly two actions, at a great distance one from the other. For the right of the fleet of Philip, which was attacked by Attalus, having kept their course close along the shore, as they had at first designed, was not far distant from the continent of Asia; while his left, which had turned to support the ships in the rear, had approached the island Chios, and was engaged with the Rhodian fleet. The success of Attalus against the right had been almost complete; and this prince, as he pursued

his victory, was now come near to those little islands where Philip was stationed, expecting the event of the battle; when he perceived, that one of his own quinqueremes, which had advanced too far beyond the rest, was struck by a Macedonian vessel, and was ready to sink. He hastened, therefore, with two quadriremes to save this ship. And when the enemy, as he approached, declined the combat, and retired towards the land, he pursued with the greatest eagerness, and was earnest to render himself master of the Macedonian vessel. Philip, perceiving that the king was so far separated from the rest of his fleet, took four quinqueremes, three biremes, and some boats that were near, and stood ready to intercept him in his return. Attalus, finding his return cut off, and being filled with the greatest apprehensions for his safety, was at last forced to run his ship close in to the land, and escaped safe to Erythræ, with the rest that were on board; while the vessel, and all the royal furniture, fell into the hands of Philip. An artifice, indeed, which he had employed upon this occasion, very greatly facilitated his escape. He had ordered his most splendid furniture to be brought out, and placed upon the deck of the ship. When the Macedonians, therefore, first entered from their boats, and saw many rich goblets, a vest of purple, and all the utensils which accompany the regal pomp; instead of following the pursuit, they set themselves to pillage what was before them, and by that delay gave full time to the king, to continue his flight with safety to Erythræ.

Though Philip had been by much the greatest sufferer in the whole of the engagement, yet so much was he elated with this success, that he sailed back again into the open sea, and began with great diligence to draw together his ships, and to encourage his men, as if he had now clearly obtained the victory. And indeed when his enemies on the other side perceived that he was followed by the royal vessel bound fast to his own, they were all ready to believe that Attalus had perished. Dionysidorus among

the rest was filled with that persuasion. He made the signal, therefore, for bringing together the ships of his own fleet; and, having soon collected them into a body, he sailed away to the ports of Asia without any danger. At the same time also, the Macedonian ships that were engaged against the Rhodians, having for a long time suffered greatly in the action, withdrew themselves separately from the fight, under the pretence of carrying assistance to some other part of the fleet. The Rhodians, when they had bound fast to the stern of their own ships one part of the vessels which they had taken, and broken the rest into pieces, directed their course to Chios. In the engagement against Attalus, Philip had lost one vessel of ten banks of oars, one of nine, one of seven, and one of six; together with ten other decked ships, three biremes, and twenty-five boats. These vessels were all destroyed, together with the men that were on board. In the engagement against the Rhodians, ten of his decked ships were destroyed, and forty boats; two quadriremes were also taken, and seven boats, with all their men. On the side of Attalus, one bireme and two quinqueremes were sunk; and the royal vessel was taken. Two quinqueremes of the Rhodians were destroyed, and some triremes; but none of their vessels taken. No more than sixty men were killed on the side of the Rhodians; and about seventy in the fleet of Attalus. But on the side of Philip, three thousand of the Macedonian soldiers, and six thousand of the naval forces, lost their lives. Two thousand also of the Macedonians and their allies were taken prisoners. Among these, seven hundred were Egyptians. Such was the end of the naval battle near the island of Chios.

When the action was finished, Philip assumed to himself, upon two accounts, the honour of the victory. The first was, that he had forced Attalus to run his vessel in to the land, and had made himself master of the ship; and the other, because he had cast anchor, after the engage-

ment, near the promontory Argennum, and taken his station in the very midst of the wrecks of the fleets. On the next day likewise, he endeavoured by his actions to support the same pretension. With this design, and in order to persuade men still more strongly that he remained the conqueror, he collected together the wrecks of all the ships, and took up the bodies of his own men that were to be distinguished among the dead. But it very soon appeared, that this was not his own opinion. For while he was employed in this very work, Dionysidorus and the Rhodians, having joined their fleets together, came sailing towards the place where he was, and stood for some time before him in order of battle. And when he declined the engagement, they returned unmolested back to Chios.

In reality, this prince had never at any time before suffered so great a loss in a single action, either by land or sea. He felt himself very deeply affected with the misfortune; and was forced to abate much of his former ardour. He endeavoured indeed, by every method, to conceal his sentiments from others; but the very face of things alone rendered even this attempt impracticable. For, beside other circumstances, the objects that presented themselves on every side, after the engagement, struck all with horror who beheld them. So great had been the slaughter, that the whole strait at the time was covered with blood; and was filled with dead bodies, with arms, and wrecks of the ships. And for many days afterwards, these objects were seen mingled together, and thrown in heaps upon the shores. So dreadful a spectacle not only struck Philip with confusion, but filled all the Macedonians with extreme dismay. Theophiliscus, who survived only one day after the battle, wrote an account of the action to his country; appointed Cleonæus in his own stead commander of the fleet; and then died of his wounds; having merited immortal honour, not only by his courage in the engagement, but on account of the resolution also which he had shewn in conducting the whole design. For unless his

spirit had determined him to be thus early in attacking Philip, so universally was that prince at this time dreaded, that the present opportunity would have been wholly lost. But he not only resolved to begin the war against him, but obliged his country also to seize the favourable moment; and forced Attalus likewise not to waste his time in preparations, but to enter immediately into action, and to try the fortune of a battle without any delay. It was not without good reason, therefore, that the Rhodians after his death decreed such honours to his memory, as were most proper to encourage, not those alone who were then alive, but the men also of future times, to render upon great occasions the most effectual service to their country.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The reason why men often abandon their designs.

WHAT was it then which forced him to stop at once in the midst of this pursuit? It was nothing indeed but the mere nature of things. For we often see, that men, while they contemplate objects at a distance, and attend only to the great advantages that would follow from success, engage eagerly in designs which are impossible to be accomplished. The violence of their desires precludes altogether the exercise of their reason. But, when the time of execution is come, and the difficulties which appear upon a nearer view are found to be absolutely insurmountable, their thoughts are suddenly bewildered and perplexed; their understanding becomes confused; and the attempt is then abandoned with the same precipitation with which it had before been undertaken.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

Philip renders himself master of Prinassus by a stratagem.

AFTER some attacks, which the strength of this little city rendered fruitless, Philip desisted from the attempt; and, leading his army through the country, destroyed the citadels, and plundered the villages that were near. He then went and encamped before Prinassus: and, having in a short time finished his blinds, and completed the other preparations that were necessary for a siege, he began to undermine the wall of the city. But, when he found that the rockiness of the soil rendered this work altogether impracticable, he had recourse to the following stratagem. He ordered the soldiers to make a great noise under ground in the day-time, as if they were employed in digging the mines, and, in the night, to bring earth from distant parts, and to lay it along the mouths of the pits that were opened; that the besieged, on seeing a large quantity of earth, might be struck with apprehensions of their danger. At first, however, the inhabitants displayed a great shew of bravery, and seemed determined to maintain themselves in their post. But when Philip informed them by a message, that the wall was undermined to the length of four hundred feet; and that he left it to their choice, whether they would now retire with safety, or, remaining till he should set fire to the props, be then all destroyed amidst the ruins of the place; they gave an entire credit to his account, and delivered up the city.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

The situation of Iassus. The judgment of the author concerning wonderful stories.

IASSUS in Asia is situated upon the gulf, which is terminated on one side by the temple of Neptune in the

Milesian territory, and, on the other, by the city of Mindus; and which by many is called the Bargylietic gulf, from the cities of the same name which are spread round the innermost parts of it. The inhabitants of Iassus boast, that they were originally a colony from Argos; but that afterwards their ancestors, when they had suffered a great loss in the Carian war, received a new colony of Milesians, which was brought to them by the son of Neleus, the first founder of Miletus. The city contains ten stadia in circumference. There is a report which is firmly credited among the inhabitants of the Bargylian cities; that no snow or rain ever falls upon the statue of the Cindyan Diana, though it stands in the open air. The people of Iassus affirm the same thing also concerning their statue of Vesta: and both these stories are related as facts by some historians. For my own part, I know not how it is, that I am still forced in the course of my work to take some notice of such traditions, which are scarcely to be heard with patience. It is certainly a proof of a most childish folly, to relate things, which, when they are brought to be examined, appear to be not only improbable, but even not possible. When a writer affirms, for example, that certain bodies, though placed in the light of the sun, project no shade, what is it but a plain indication of a distempered brain? and yet Theopompus has declared that this happens to those who are admitted into the temple of Jupiter in Arcadia. Of the same kind are the stories that have now been mentioned. I must confess, indeed, that, when things of this sort tend only to preserve in vulgar minds a reverential awe of the divinity, writers may sometimes be excused, if they employ their pains in recounting miracles, and in framing legendary tales. But nothing which exceeds that point should be allowed. It is not easy, perhaps, to fix in every instance the exact bounds of this indulgence: yet neither is it absolutely impossible. My opinion is, that ignorance and

falsehood may be admitted in a small degree; and when they are carried farther, that they ought to be exploded.

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

Scipio returns to Rome. His triumph. The death of Syphax.

NOT long after this time, Publius Scipio returned back to Rome from Afric. As the greatness of his actions had raised in men a very high and general expectation, he was surrounded by vast crowds upon his entrance, and received by the people with the greatest marks of favour. Nor was this only reasonable, but an act also of necessary duty. For they, who not long before had not so much as dared to hope, that Annibal ever could be driven out of Italy, or the danger be removed from their own persons and their families, now saw themselves not only freed from the apprehension of any present evils, but established also in a lasting and firm security, by the entire conquest of their enemies. Upon this occasion, therefore, they set no bounds to their joy. On the day, likewise, in which he entered the city in triumph, as the objects that were viewed in the procession represented most clearly to the senses of the people the dangers from which they had escaped, they stood as in an ecstasy of passion, pouring out thanks to the gods, and acknowledgments to the author of so great a deliverance. Among the rest of the prisoners, Syphax also, the Massæsylian king, was led along a captive in the procession: and after some time he died in prison. When the solemnity of the triumph was finished, there was afterwards in Rome, during many days, a continual succession of games and spectacles; the expence of which was defrayed by Scipio, with a generosity which was worthy of him.

EXTRACT THE SIXTH.

The prudent conduct of Philip after his defeat.

THERE are many men indeed, who may be observed to begin an action well, and even to redouble their ardour as they advance, till they have made a very considerable progress: but to conduct an enterprise completely to the end, and, even when fortune obstructs them in their course, to supply by prudence whatever may have been defective in alacrity and vigour, is the portion only of a few. In this view, as the inaction of Attalus and the Rhodians, after their late victory, may justly be censured; so, on the other hand, the magnanimity and the royal spirit with which Philip persisted still in his designs deserves not less to be applauded. Let it be remarked, however, that it is not my meaning to apply this commendation to the general character and conduct of this prince; but, that I am speaking only of the attention which he exerted upon the present occasion. Without this distinction, I might be charged, perhaps, with inconsistency; in having not long before applauded Attalus and the Rhodians, and censured Philip, and delivering now a contrary judgment. But for this very purpose it was, that I observed expressly in the beginning of my work, that a historian often is obliged to applaud and to condemn the same persons, as different occasions may require. For the revolutions of affairs, and sudden accidents as they arise, are frequently seen to change the intentions of men from good to bad, or from bad to good. And even without the impression of external circumstances, the natural inconstancy of the human mind sometimes determines men to a right course of action, and sometimes to that which is altogether wrong. The force of one or other of these causes was now clearly visible in Philip. For, though this prince suffered no small concern from his late defeat, and was apt, almost at all times, to be hurried along by violence and passion, yet upon this occa-

sion he accommodated himself with a most astonishing prudence to the exigency of the times. By this conduct he was again enabled to resume the war against the Rhodians and king Attalus; and in the end accomplished all that he proposed. Such an instance of his prudence deserved not to pass altogether without remark. For some men, like bad racers, abandon their designs, when they are arrived even almost at the end of their course: while others, on the contrary, obtain a victory against their rivals, by exerting in that very moment more strenuous efforts than before.

EXTRACT THE SEVENTH.

The situation of Sestus and Abydus. The siege of this last city; and the desperate resolution of the citizens.

IT would be needless to enter into a long description of the situation of Sestus and Abydus, or to enumerate the conveniences which they possess. For these cities are so singularly placed, that there is scarcely any one, unless among the most vulgar of mankind, who has not acquired some knowledge of them. But it will not be unuseful upon the present occasion to turn the attention of the reader to a general view of their position. And indeed whoever will compare and lay together what I am going to say, may obtain from thence a juster notion of these two cities than even from an examination of the ground upon which they stand.

As it is not possible then to sail from the Ocean, or, as it is called by others, from the Atlantic, into our sea, without passing through the strait of the Pillars of Hercules; so neither is there any way of sailing from our sea into the Propontis and the Pontus, unless through the passage that lies between Sestus and Abydus. In one respect, indeed, these straits are very differently formed. For that of the Pillars of Hercules is much larger than the Hellespont,

and contains sixty stadia in breadth; whereas the other, between Sestus and Abydus, has no more than two. But in making this difference Fortune seems to have acted not altogether without design. One reason of it, as far as we are able to conjecture, seems to be, that the exterior ocean is by many degrees larger than our sea. To this we may add, that the strait of Abydus is better adapted, upon this account, to the necessities of those who live upon it. For as both sides of it are covered with inhabitants, the narrowness of the passage serves as a kind of gate for their mutual intercourse. For this purpose they sometimes throw a bridge over the strait, and pass from one side to the other on foot. At other times, vessels are seen sailing continually upon it. But the strait of the Pillars of Hercules is very rarely used, and only by a few. For the people that live on both sides, in the extreme borders of Afric and of Europe, have but little communication one with another, and scarcely any knowledge of the exterior sea. The city Abydus is inclosed also on either side by the promontories of Europe; and has a harbour which affords a safe shelter to the ships that are stationed in it against every wind. But without the entrance of the harbour it is not possible for any vessel ever to cast anchor, on account of the rapidity and violence with which the waters are carried through the strait.

This was the city to which Philip was now laying siege both by land and by sea. On the side of the latter he had blocked the place closely by piles planted crossways: and, by land, had carried an intrenchment round the walls. The greatness of the preparations that were made, the variety of the works that were contrived, the skill and artifice that were employed in carrying into execution every usual method either of attack or of defence; these, however memorable, are not the things that are most worthy of admiration upon the present occasion. But the generous resolution and the extravagant spirit, which appeared in the besieged, were so singular and astonishing,

that this siege, upon that account alone, deserves more than any other to be transmitted to posterity in lasting characters. At first, reposing an entire confidence in their own strength, they sustained all the attacks of Philip with the greatest firmness: disabling the machines that were advanced against the city from the sea, by stones thrown from their balistæ, or destroying them by fire; so that the Macedonians were scarcely able to withdraw even their ships from the danger. On the side of the land likewise, they repulsed the king in his approaches with so great vigour and success, that for some time they seemed to hope that they should force him to desist from his attempt. But when they saw the outer wall of the city fall down; and that the Macedonians had brought their mines very near also to the wall which had been raised within the other, to supply the place of that which had fallen; they then sent Iphiades and Pantacnotus to treat with Philip, and offered to surrender the city to him upon these conditions: that the troops which they had received from Attalus and the Rhodians should be dismissed with an assurance of safety; and the free citizens be allowed to depart to what places soever they should choose, with the garments that were upon their bodies. But Philip ordered the deputies to go back again and tell the besieged, that they either must surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves with courage.

The Abydenians, when they had received this answer, met together in council, and, with minds agitated by despair, deliberated on the measures which they now should take. They resolved first, that the slaves should be made free, that they might assist without reserve in the defence of the city. In the next place, that all the women of the city should be assembled together in the temple of Diana; and all the children, with their nurses, in the Gymnasium. That all their gold and silver likewise should be laid together in the forum: and, in the same manner, all their valuable vestments, in the Rhodian quadrireme, and in the

trireme of the Cyzicenians. These things being thus decreed, were carried into execution with one consent. They then called together another assembly: and, having chosen fifty of the oldest men, who were judged to be most worthy of such a trust, and who had strength sufficient also to accomplish all that was proposed, they made them swear in the presence of all the citizens, that, as soon as the enemy should become masters of the inner wall, they would kill the women and the children; set fire to the two vessels; and throw the gold and the silver into the sea. After this, the priests being called, all the rest of the citizens were engaged likewise by a solemn oath, that they would either conquer, or die fighting in the defence of their country. And to conclude the whole, having slain some victims in sacrifice, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce upon the burning entrails dire execrations against those who should neglect to perform what they had sworn. When all was finished, they no longer endeavoured to countermine the enemy; but resolved only, that, as soon as the wall should fall, they would exert their utmost efforts upon the breach, and continue fighting till they should all expire.

And now may it not be said, that both the desperate resolution of the Phocæans, which has before been mentioned, and the magnanimous spirit also of the Acarnanians, were surpassed by the daring courage which the Abydenians shewed upon this occasion? For when the Phocæans entered into a like determination with respect to their families, they had still some hopes of saving themselves by a victory; having an opportunity of engaging the Thessalians in a set battle. The Acarnanians likewise had in their power the same resource. For when they only expected an invasion from the Ætolians, they passed in their council a similar decree. We have before given a particular account of these transactions. But the Abydenians, already inclosed on every side, and having no means of safety remaining in their power, chose rather

to perish, every man, together with their wives and children, than to live with the certain expectation of seeing their children and their wives fall into the hands of their enemies. The conduct therefore of Fortune, with regard to this last people, may well be charged with some injustice. She compassionated the distresses of the others, retrieved their affairs by a victory, and reinstated them in safety when they had almost lost all hope. To the Abydenians alone she shewed no favour. The men all lost their lives; the city was taken; and the children with their mothers came alive into the power of the enemy. For as soon as the inner wall fell down, the citizens, in observance of their oaths, all mounted the breach, and opposed the entrance of the enemy with so great fury, that Philip, though he sent continually, even till night came on, fresh troops to the assault, was at last forced to desist, and began to apprehend that the whole design was irrecoverably lost. For the foremost of the Abydenians not only advanced with a frantic kind of desperation over the dead bodies of the enemy, nor were contented to employ their spears and their swords alone with a most astonishing force; but when their weapons were rendered useless, or were torn by violence out of their hands, grasping the Macedonians close, they threw some of them with their armour upon the ground; broke the spears of others; and, catching the fragments from them, turned the points against their faces, and against the other parts of their bodies that were uncovered; and by these means threw them into extreme consternation and dismay. But when the night had put an end to the combat, the greatest part of the citizens being left dead upon the breach, and the rest disabled by fatigue and wounds, Glaucides and Theognetus, having assembled together a small number of the oldest men, prevailed with them to abandon that most glorious and most admirable determination which they so lately had embraced, and to consider only their own present safety. They resolved therefore to save the women and

the children alive; and, as soon as the day should appear, that they would send the priests and priestesses, dressed in their holy habits, to implore the mercy of Philip, and to deliver the city to him.

At the very time of this transaction, Attalus, having heard that the Abydenians were besieged, sailed through the Ægean sea to Tenedos; and Marcus Æmilius, who was the youngest of the Roman ambassadors, came to Abydus. For the ambassadors that were sent from Rome, having received also at Rhodes the notice of this siege, and because they had orders likewise to obtain an interview with Philip, stopped their journey to the other kings, and sent Æmilius to Abydus to confer personally with that prince. The Roman, being admitted into his presence, declared to him the orders of the senate; "that he should not make war upon any of the people of Greece, nor invade any of the dominions that belonged to Ptolemy; and that he should engage to make an equitable compensation for the losses which Attalus and the Rhodians had unjustly sustained. That, if he would comply with these conditions, he might still remain in peace: if otherwise, that the Romans would declare war against him." The king endeavoured to convince the ambassador that the Rhodians had first attacked him. But Æmilius, interrupting him, "And what," said he, "did the Athenians? what the Cianians? what, at this moment, the unhappy Abydenians? did either of these first attack you?" Philip, after some hesitation, told him, that for three reasons he would excuse the haughtiness of this address. First, because he was a young man, not yet experienced in affairs: in the next place, because he was the handsomest man of his age; which indeed was true: and lastly, because he was a Roman. He then added, that it was his earnest wish that the Romans would still confine themselves within the bounds of their treaties, and lay aside all thoughts of war. But if they determine otherwise, we shall then, continued he, invoke the assistance of the

gods, and defend ourselves against them with our utmost strength. After this discourse they severally retired. The king then took possession of the city, and without any difficulty seized all the treasure which the Abydenians had before collected, and laid together in heaps. But how great was his astonishment when he saw the numbers of persons that destroyed themselves, together with their wives and children, with the most eager fury. Some stabbed, some strangled themselves; some plunged themselves alive into wells; and others threw themselves headlong down from the roofs of the houses. Filled with grief at this dismal sight, he ordered proclamation to be made that he would allow three days to those who should choose to hang or otherwise destroy themselves. But the Abydenians had before determined their own fate, and adhered inflexibly to their first purpose. They considered themselves as guilty of a kind of treason against those brave citizens who had perished in the defence of their country: nor would any among them submit to live, except those whose hands were tied, or who were restrained by some other kind of force. The rest, with their whole families, without any delay, embraced a voluntary death.

EXTRACT THE EIGHTH.

The expedition of Philopœmen against Nabis.

PHILOPŒMEN, having first computed the respective distances of all the Achæan cities, and considered also which of them lay along the same roads in going towards Tegea, wrote letters to them all, and sent them in different parcels to the cities that were at the greatest distance from that place: the parcels being so composed that each of these cities, together with the letter addressed to itself, received those likewise that were written to the rest of the cities which stood upon the same road. The first letter was addressed to the chief magistrate of the city, and contained

the following words: "As soon as you have received this letter, assemble together in the forum all the men of military age with their arms. Let them be furnished with provisions, and with money for five days; and, when they are formed into a body, conduct them to the next city. On your arrival there deliver the letter that is addressed also to the chief magistrate of that city; and let the contents of it in like manner be obeyed." This second letter contained the same orders as the former; and was different only in the name of the next city to which the troops were to be conducted. The same method was observed through all the cities: and the result of this management was, that, as no one was able to conjecture what was the design and object of the expedition, so neither had the troops themselves any farther knowledge of their march, than that they were going to the next city; but remaining still in a state of doubt and ignorance, joined themselves each to the others, and continued to advance. As the first and most distant cities were not all situated at an equal distance from Tegea, care had been also taken that the letters should not be delivered to them all at once; but at different times, proportioned to their respective distances. And from hence it happened, that, when neither the Tegeans, nor the troops themselves, had conceived any expectation of such an accident, the Achæans all arrived at Tegea in the same moment in arms, and entered the city together by all the different gates. The design of Philopœmen was, to elude by this contrivance the observation of those spies and gatherers of news which Nabis, the Spartan tyrant, had dispersed through the country.

Having thus formed his project, on the day on which the Achæans were expected to arrive he sent away a select body of troops from Tegea; with orders that they should conceal themselves during the night in the neighbourhood of Selasia, and early on the following day make incursions into the Lacedæmonian territory. That, if the Spartan mercenaries should be drawn together to oppose them,

they should then retreat towards Scotita; and in all other things obey the orders of Didascalondas of Crete, to whom he had communicated his whole design. This measure being carried into execution, he directed the Achæans to take their supper at an early hour, and then led them out of Tegea. Having continued his march all night with the greatest haste, he arrived at break of day, and took his post secretly in the neighbourhood of Scotita, which lies between Tegea and Sparta. The Spartan mercenaries that were stationed in Pellene, having received notice in the morning from their scouts that some troops of the enemy were making incursions in the country, immediately sallied out, and attacked them with their accustomed vigour. The Achæans observed their orders and retreated. The mercenaries pursued with the greatest eagerness; till, being at last arrived at the place where the rest of the Achæans lay concealed, they were suddenly surrounded by them, and were all either killed or taken prisoners.

BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Conferences between Philip, Flaminius, and the deputies of the allies. They all send ambassadors to Rome. The Roman senate resolves that the war shall be continued against Philip.

CHAP. I.

WHEN the day appointed for the conference was come, Philip sailed from Demetrias in an armed sloop, accompanied with five boats, and came into the Malian gulf. He was attended by his two secretaries, Apollodorus and Demosthenes, both Macedonians; by Brachyllus of Bœotia; and by Cycliadas an Achæan, who had been forced to fly out of Peloponnesus, for the reasons that have before been mentioned. On the other side, with Titus Flaminius, came the king Amynander; Dionysodorus, on the part of Attalus; and deputies also from the other states and cities. On the part of the Achæans appeared Aristænetus and Xenophon; for the Rhodians, Acesimbrotus, their chief naval commander; and, in the name of the Ætolians, Phæneas, their prætor, with many others that were employed in the administration of the government. When they were all come near together upon the coast of Nicæa, Flaminius steered his vessel close in to the land, and went and stood upon the shore. But Philip, though he also approached the land, stood aloof at some little distance from it; and, when the former called to him to come on shore, he answered from his ship that he would not do

it. The other asked him, who it was that he feared? I fear no one, said Philip, except the gods; but I have just reason to be distrustful of many that are here present, especially of the Ætolians. Flaminius was surprised, and said, that the opportunity was the same, and the danger equal to all. The danger is by no means equal, replied Philip; for if Phæneas were to be killed, the Ætolians might find many other prætors; but if the same thing should happen to me, the Macedonians would at this time be left without a king. This beginning gave no small offence to all that were present. He was desired, however, by the Roman general to speak what he had to say upon the subject of their meeting. Philip answered, that it belonged not to him to speak, but to the Roman. That for his own part, therefore, he only desired Flaminius to declare upon what conditions he might be suffered to remain in peace. The conditions, replied Flaminius, are clear and simple. I order you to relinquish every part of Greece; to send back all the prisoners and deserters to their respective countries; to restore to the Romans the places which you have conquered in Illyria since the treaty of Epirus; and to Ptolemy all the cities which you have taken from him since the death of Ptolemy Philopator. Then turning himself towards the other deputies, he bade them declare the orders which they had received from their several states. Dionysodorus began the first; and demanded in the name of Attalus, that Philip should deliver to that prince all the ships and men which he had taken in the engagement near the island of Chios; and restore also, in the same condition as before, the Nicephorium and the temple of Venus, which he had plundered and destroyed. Next to him, Acesimbrotus on the part of the Rhodians required, that the king should restore the district of Peræa, which he had taken from them; withdraw his garrisons from Iassus, and the cities of Bargylia and Euromea; allow the Perinthians to be united as before in the same common government as the Byzantines; and,

in the last place, that he should deliver up Sestus and Abydus, together with all the ports and places of traffic which he possessed in Asia. After the Rhodians, the Achæans demanded likewise the restitution of Argos and of Corinth. Last of all, the Ætolians insisted also, as the Romans had done, that Philip should relinquish every part of Greece; and to this they added, that he should restore unhurt the cities which had been before associated with them in their government.

These demands were made by Phæneas the Ætolian prætor. But there was a certain Alexander, surnamed the Isian, who was considered among the Ætolians as a very able speaker, and well versed also in affairs. This man then began to speak. "It was not," he said, "to be expected, that Philip would now employ any greater sincerity in making peace than he had at any time shewn spirit in making war. That in conferences and negociations, his endeavour was always to lay snares; to watch for some advantage; and to act even upon such occasions a hostile part. That his manner of making war was alike contrary to justice, and void of courage. That he never dared to look his enemies in the face, but fled always before them; pillaging and burning the cities in his flight; and depriving the conquerors by this dishonourable method of the just fruits of their victory. How different," continued he, "was the conduct of the former kings of Macedon? They engaged continually in set battles in the open field; and scarcely at any time destroyed or overthrew the cities. Such was the manner in which Alexander maintained his war in Asia against Darius, and achieved the conquest of that mighty empire. The same was the conduct of his generals who came after him, when they contended together for the same Asia against Antigonus. The same was that of all the succeeding princes to the time of Pyrrhus. Eager always to encounter with their enemies in the field, they employed every effort to determine their disputes by arms; but spared the cities, that the con-

querors might possess them, and gain subjects by whom they might be honoured. And indeed, to relinquish the war itself, and only to destroy those things for the sake of which it is made, what is it but the work of the very strongest madness? Yet this is the manner in which Philip acts. For since the time of his retreat, which was made with so great haste through the passes of Epirus, he has destroyed in Thessaly, among the people who are his allies and friends, more cities than their enemies have at any time destroyed." Many other things were urged by him in support of the same charge. And he then concluded his discourse with demanding of Philip, for what reason, when Lysimachia was confederated with the Ætolians, and governed by an Ætolian prætor, he had driven out that magistrate, and placed a Macedonian garrison in the city? Upon what pretences, even while himself was allied by treaty with the Ætolians, he had carried the Cianians into slavery, who were associated also with the Ætolian state? And lastly, by what shew of right he now held possession of Echinus, of the Phthian Thebes, of Pharsalus, and of Larissa?

As soon as he had ended, Philip approached nearer to the land; and, standing forwards in his ship, "This is in truth," said he, "an harangue very worthy of an Ætolian, a declamation proper only for the stage. For who does not know, that no man ever willingly occasions the destruction of his allies; but that in certain conjunctures the leaders of armies are forced to take many measures that are repugnant to their inclinations." He was still speaking, when Phæneas, who was very near-sighted, roughly interrupted him, and told him that he was wandering from the subject; for that he ought either to conquer in the field, or to receive the law from the conquerors. "Without doubt," replied Philip, turning himself quick towards him; "even a blind man can see that." For this prince had a strong propensity to raillery; and even at this time, when his affairs were in no very proper condition for jest-

ing, he was not able to restrain his natural inclination. Afterwards, addressing his discourse again to Alexander; "You demand of me," said he, "for what reason I possessed myself of Lysimachia? It was to prevent the Thracians from taking advantage of your negligence to destroy that city; the very thing which happened afterwards, when the war forced me to withdraw the troops which I had placed there, not as a garrison, but as a defence only against those invaders. Nor was it I that made war upon the Cianians. But when Prusias had declared war against them, I assisted him indeed in conquering their city. If there was any crime in this proceeding, to yourselves alone the guilt must be imputed. For how often have we demanded of you, both myself and all the states of Greece, an abrogation of the law which allows you to take spoils from the spoils? But you have always answered, that you would sooner separate Ætolia from Ætolia than relinquish that law." Flaminius was astonished, not being able to conceive the meaning of these words. Philip, therefore, explained it by informing him, that it was the custom of this people not only to pillage the lands of those with whom they were at war; but that when any other persons, even those that were the allies and friends of the Ætolians, were engaged in war against each other; the latter held it to be lawful for them to join their arms, though without any public decree, both to the one and the other of the contending parties, and to ravage the lands of both. That upon such occasions they knew not any difference between enmity and friendship: for that their neighbours, all equally without distinction, whenever any contention arose among them, were sure to have the Ætolians for their enemies? "With what shew of justice then," continued he, "do they now urge it as a crime, that, when I was indeed in friendship with the Ætolians, but at the same time was allied to Prusias, I scrupled not to attack the Cianians in support of my ally? But that which is most insufferable is, that these men now assume to themselves

an equality with the Romans; and, like them, command the Macedonians to relinquish the whole of Greece. This language, haughty indeed as it is, may be borne however from the Romans; but from the Ætolians it is intolerable. And tell me, I pray you, what is this Greece, from which I am commanded to retire? By what limits is it to be circumscribed? For a great part even of the Ætolians are not Greeks. The countries of the Agræans, the Apodotæ, the Amphilochians; these are no parts of Greece. May I be allowed to retain possession of these?" Flaminius smiled at this pleasantry. "But enough has been said," continued Philip, "upon the subject of the Ætolians. With regard to Attalus and the Rhodians, it would be thought more reasonable by any equitable judge, that they should restore to me the ships and the men which they have taken from me, than that I should restore their ships to them. But if such be your pleasure, Alexander, I will restore the district of Peræa to the Rhodians, and to Attalus those of his ships and men which are still preserved. The Nicephorium and the temple of Venus, since they already are destroyed, it is not in my power, unless by one way only, to restore. I will send some plants to the place, and some gardeners also, who shall cultivate the ground, and make the trees grow that have been cut down." Flaminius laughed again at this droll conceit: and Philip, passing next to the Achæans, enumerated all the acts of kindness which they had received from Antigonus, and from himself. He then recounted also the many and great honours which this people had conferred upon the kings of Macedon. And having, in the last place, recited the decree, by which they had renounced the friendship of the Macedonians, and embraced the party of the Romans, he from thence took occasion to inveigh largely against their ingratitude and their breach of faith. In conclusion he said, that he was willing however to restore Argos to them; but that with respect to Corinth, he would deliberate concerning it with Flaminius.

Having in this manner finished his discourse to all the rest, he now addressed himself, as he expressly declared, to Flaminius and the Romans: and desired to be informed, what places and what cities of Greece he was commanded to relinquish; those only which he had conquered, or the others also which had been transmitted to him from his ancestors. As Flaminius made no answer, Aristænetus immediately rose up to speak on the part of the Achæans, and Phæneas for the Ætolians. But the day being now almost closed prevented any farther debate. Philip then requested, that he might receive all together in writing the conditions upon which peace might be obtained. He was left, he said, alone, without a single person, by whom he might be advised; and that he wished to retire, and to consider with his best attention the concessions that were exacted from him. Flaminius had heard with pleasure the railleries which this prince had mingled with his discourse: and not being willing that it should be said that he had nothing to reply, he now rallied Philip in his turn. "You do well indeed," said he, "to complain that you are left alone: how can it be otherwise, when you have put all those to death who might at this time have assisted you with the best advice?" The king forced a kind of reluctant smile, and made no reply. The demands of the several states were then given to him in writing, and were the same that have been mentioned. After this the assembly separated; having appointed a second meeting in the same place on the following day.

On the next day then Flaminius came again to the place. All the rest also were present, Philip only excepted, who did not appear. But when the day was so far advanced, that there remained but little expectation of his coming, he at last arrived just in the evening, attended by the same persons as before. The conditions, he said, were so perplexing, and so full of difficulty, that he had wasted the whole day in the consideration of them. But the

others believed, that his design in coming so late was, that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time sufficient to accuse him. For he had observed, when he retired from the former conference, that they were both ready to enter into farther altercation, and to renew their complaints against him. And this indeed appeared to be the truth, when now, upon his first approach, he desired to be allowed a separate conference with Flaminius; that, instead of skirmishing any more together with words, some end might at last be put to their disputes. As he urged this request with repeated earnestness, Flaminius, when he had first asked the opinion of the rest, and received their consent for him to hear what the king would offer, took with him the tribune Claudius, and, having directed the other deputies to retire to a little distance from the shore, ordered Philip to come upon the land. The king accordingly left his ship, attended by Apollodorus and Demosthenes; joined Flaminius, and conferred with him for a very considerable time. What passed on both sides upon this occasion it is not easy for me to say. But Flaminius, after Philip had departed from him, informed the rest, that the king was ready to surrender to the Ætolians Pharsalus and Larissa, but not Thebes; and to the Rhodians the district of Peræa, but not the cities of Iassus and Bargylia: that he would restore to the Achæans both Argos and Corinth: would deliver to the Romans all the places in Illyria, and all the prisoners; and to Attalus the ships which he had taken from him in the late engagement, together with the men likewise that were at this time in his hands. These offers were rejected at once by all the assembly. They demanded that Philip should first consent to the condition which they all required; that of relinquishing the whole of Greece. Unless this was done, the concessions which he was disposed to make to particular states would be vain and ineffectual. Philip, perceiving that the contest was likely to be vehement, and being apprehensive that he should again be forced to hear

himself accused, desired that the assembly might be deferred to the morrow: that the day was already closed: and that he would either bring himself to yield to the conditions that were exacted from him, or prevail with the others to accept the terms which he had offered. Flaminius consented to this request, and appointed the shore near Thronium for the place of the third conference.

On the following day they all met together at an early hour. Philip, having first in a short discourse entreated all that were present, and Flaminius above the rest, not to obstruct the conclusion of the peace, when it was manifest that the greatest part were inclined to consent to some accommodation, said that he wished indeed if it was possible, that all their differences might be adjusted among themselves. But, if this was not to be accomplished, he then desired that he might be allowed to send ambassadors to Rome. That he either would engage the senate to yield to him the matters in dispute, or would submit to every thing which they should otherwise enjoin. The deputies all at once rejected this proposal, and cried out that the war must be continued. But Flaminius said, that he very well knew that Philip never would perform the conditions that were demanded of him: that their compliance, however, with this request would bring no injury to their affairs: that the conditions themselves, as they had been now proposed, could not otherwise be ratified than by the authority of the senate: and that the present time was the most commodious for informing themselves of the inclinations of that assembly; for as the armies would not be able to attempt any thing during the winter, by employing that season of inaction in sending deputies to Rome, they would advance, and not retard, the end which they all desired. As it appeared from this discourse that Flaminius himself was not unwilling to refer the matter to the senate, the rest readily concurred in this design, and consented that Philip should send some ambassadors to Rome. At the same time it was determined that ambassa-

dors should be deputed likewise from the other states, to lay their pretensions before the senate, and support their accusations against the king.

CHAP. II.

FLAMINIUS, having in this manner brought the conferences to an end most favourable to his own intentions, and the same which he had from the first designed, applied himself now to finish what remained of the work; and, while he took such measures as were necessary for his own security, was careful not to leave any handle of advantage to Philip. Granting, therefore, to him a truce for two months, he commanded him to send his ambassadors to Rome within that time, and immediately to withdraw his garrisons from Phocis and from Locris: at the same time taking also every other precaution that was requisite to prevent the allies from receiving any injury from the Macedonians during the continuance of the truce. He gave these orders in writing to Philip; and then made haste to finish what more particularly regarded his own design. He first engaged Amynander to go immediately to Rome; well knowing that this prince, who was of a flexible and pliant disposition, would easily be directed by his friends in the city; and that the title also of king would raise the public expectation, and give splendour to the negociation. He then deputed thither, on his own part, Quintus Fabius, the nephew of his wife; Quintus Fulvius, and Appius Claudius, whose surname was Nero. On the part of the Ætolians were sent Alexander the Isian, Damocritus of Calydon, Dicæarchus of Trichonium, Polimarchus of Arsinoe, Lamius of Ambracia, and Nicomachus of Acarnania. The exiles that had been driven from Thyreum, and had taken refuge in Ambracia, sent also in their name Theodotus of Pheræ; who, after his banishment from Thessaly, had fixed his residence in Stratus. The

Achæans deputed Xenophon of Ægium; king Attalus, only Alexander; and the Athenians, Cephisodorus.

When these ambassadors arrived at Rome, the senate had not finally determined the allotment of the provinces to the magistrates of the year; but were making it the subject of their deliberation, whether both the consuls should be sent into Gaul, or one of them be charged with the war against the king of Macedon. But after some time, when the friends of Flaminius were at last assured that both consuls would remain in Italy, on account of the apprehension of a Gallic war; the deputies were then introduced into the senate, and declaimed with great acrimony against Philip. Their discourses were in general the same which they had made in the late conferences with the king. But the opinion which they chiefly laboured to impress upon the senate was, that as long as Philip should hold Chalcis, Corinth, and Demetrias in subjection, the Greeks could never entertain so much as a thought of being free: that this was acknowledged by Philip himself, who used to call these places the fetters of Greece; and that no declaration ever was more true: for, while a royal garrison remained in Corinth, the people of Peloponnesus would be afraid to move. That the Locrians, the Bœotians, and the Phocæans, must in the same manner lose all courage, if the king should retain possession of Chalcis and the other parts of Eubœa. And lastly, if the Macedonians were allowed to hold Demetrias, that the Thessalians and Magnesians could never hope to obtain even the smallest portion of freedom. That the offer therefore that was made by Philip to relinquish any other places was merely an empty shew, contrived only to elude the present danger: for, if he still should be permitted to remain master of those three cities, he would be able to bring the Greeks again into subjection, at any time that he should choose. Upon this account they requested of the senate either that the king might be forced to make an immediate cession of those places; or otherwise, that things might

remain in their present state, and the war be continued with vigour against him. That the war indeed was at this time very nearly finished: since the Macedonians had been already twice defeated; and that their supplies by land were all exhausted. To these reasons they in the end added also their entreaties; and implored the senate not to disappoint the Greeks of their hopes of liberty, nor to deprive themselves of the honour of a glorious name.

When these and other things of the same kind had been urged by the deputies from the several states, the ambassadors of Philip were ready also to make a long harangue, but were stopped in the very beginning of it. Being asked if they would relinquish Chalcis, Corinth, and Demetrias, they answered, that they had received no instructions concerning those places. They were loaded therefore with reproaches from every side, and were forced to be silent. It was then decreed that both the consuls should be sent into Gaul, as we before have mentioned; and that the war should be continued against Philip, and Flaminius be entrusted with the affairs of Greece. And thus all things happened as Flaminius had desired. Nor was his success upon this occasion scarcely in any degree to be ascribed to chance, but chiefly to his own foresight and prudent management. For there was not in all Rome a man more dexterous, or that shewed greater wisdom and ability, either in the conduct of public affairs, or in the advancement of his own particular interests. And yet he was at this time very young; not more than thirty years old. He was the first also of the Romans that led an army into Greece.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

A reflection on the depravity of mankind.

IT seems that men, who in the practice of craft and subtlety exceed all other animals, may with good reason

be acknowledged to be more depraved than they. For other animals are subservient only to the appetites of the body, and by them are led to do wrong. But men, who have also sentiments to guide them, are guilty of ill conduct, not less through the abuse of their acquired reason, than from the force of their natural desires.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

The difference between the Roman palisade and that of the Greeks. The motions of the Macedonian and Roman armies. The battle of Cynoscephalæ, between Philip and Flaminius. The Macedonian phalanx compared with the arms and order of battle of the Romans.

CHAP. I.

FLAMINIUS had not yet been able to discover in what place the Macedonians were encamped. But being assured that they had entered Thessaly, he ordered all his soldiers to cut pales for the intrenchment, and to carry them with them, that they might be ready for use whenever occasion should require. This is a labour, which in the discipline of the Grecian armies is considered as impracticable; but the Romans perform it without much difficulty. For the Greeks, in their marches, scarcely can support the toil of carrying their own bodies. But the Romans, when they have slung their shields by the leathern braces behind their shoulders, take their javelins in their hands, and are able at the same time to carry the pales. What renders the task indeed the easier is, that these pales are very different from those that are used by Greeks. For the Greeks esteem those to be the best, which have many and very large branches all round the trunk. But the Romans choose those that have only two or three branches, or four at the most; and those also upon one side of the trunk, and not springing alternately

from both. By this method, the carriage of them is rendered altogether easy; for three or four of them may be laid close together, and be carried by a single soldier. In this way also they are much better contrived than the other for the security of the camp. The pales used by the Greeks are easily torn out of the ground. For, as they are planted singly, and each of them standing as it were alone, with many great branches spreading from the trunk, if two or three soldiers apply their strength to the branches, the trunk is soon drawn from the ground, and leaves a very spacious opening: and the adjoining pales also are at the same time loosened; because their branches are too short to be interwoven each with the other. But it is otherwise in the method of the Romans. Among them, the branches are so twisted together, that it is not easy to distinguish what branches belong to the stems in the several pales, or what stems to the branches. Add to this, that the texture of them is so close, as to leave no room for a hand to pass; and that the points also of all the branches are very carefully sharpened. And even when it is possible to lay hold on any part, it is still extremely difficult to draw out any of the pales: not only because they are very firmly fixed in the ground; but because the force also, which is applied to any single branch, must at the same time draw along many other branches, which are inseparably twisted with it. Nor is it scarcely ever practicable for two or three men to lay hold on the same pale together. And if a single pale, or if two, by the efforts of continual shaking, should at last be removed from their place, the opening that is made is so small that it is scarcely to be discerned. As these pales then have in three respects a very great advantage over the others; in being found almost in any place; in being carried with ease; and in forming, when they are used, a rampart the most stable and secure; it is manifest, at least in my judgment, that there is not any part of the Roman discipline which so well deserves to be approved and imitated.

Flaminius then, having ordered the soldiers, as we have mentioned, to cut and carry the pales with them, that they might be ready for use, advanced slowly with all the army. When he arrived at the distance of about fifty stadia from the city of Pheræ, he there encamped: and, early on the following day, he sent out a body of his men, to discover, if it was possible, in what place the enemy lay, and what were their designs. Philip, on the other hand, having been informed that the Romans remained still in the neighbourhood of Thebes, decamped from Larissa at this very time with all his army, and, directing his march also towards Pheræ, arrived before the day was closed at the distance of thirty stadia from the city. In this place, he ordered the troops to take their refreshment and repose: and, on the following day, having sent forwards his advanced guard, before it was light, to take possession of the hills that were above the city, as soon as the day appeared, he began to draw out all his forces from the camp. The troops that were sent forwards from both the armies had almost met together, as they advanced on the top of the hills. But, perceiving the approach of each other through the dawn, when there was now but a very moderate distance between them, they immediately halted, and sent some to inform the generals of what had happened, and to receive their orders. The generals on both sides resolved to remain quiet in their respective camps; and recalled the troops that had advanced. On the next day, they sent away again on both sides about three hundred of their cavalry and light-armed troops to make discoveries. Among those that went from the Roman camp were two troops of Ætolians, selected for this service by Flaminius, on account of their knowledge of the country. The two bodies met together on the road that leads from Pheræ to Larissa, and the engagement was begun with vigour. But so strenuous were the efforts of Eupolemus, who headed the Ætolians, and so well did he animate the troops of Italy to support the charge, that the Macedo-

nians suffered very greatly in the action. When the skirmish, however, had continued for a considerable time, both parties returned back again to their several camps.

On the following day, the two generals, being alike dissatisfied with the ground in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, which was covered every where with plantations, gardens, and fences, resolved both of them to change their camp. Philip, therefore, having put his troops in motion, directed his march towards Scotussa: with design to draw from thence a plentiful supply of all provisions, and afterwards to encamp in some place more commodious for his army. At the same time Flaminius, suspecting that this was his intention, began his march also towards the same place with the greatest haste; that he might be able to arrive before the king, and destroy the provisions through the country. Between the two armies was a chain of lofty hills, which intercepted the view of each from the other: so that the Romans saw not the course in which the Macedonians directed their march, nor the Macedonians that of the Romans. At the end of the day, the former arrived near Eretria in Pthiotis, and the latter upon the banks of the river Onchestus, and remained there for the night; not knowing in either army in what place the other had halted. On the next day they continued their march forwards, and severally encamped; Philip near the place called Melambium in the district of Scotussa; and Flaminius in the neighbourhood of Thetidium in Pharsalia; but were still alike unacquainted each of them with the situation of the other. On the third day, at early dawn, came on violent storms of rain accompanied with thunder; and the whole earth was covered with so black a sky, that the soldiers were scarcely able to see a step before them. Philip, however, being earnest to accomplish his design, resolved to continue his march with all the army. But when he had advanced but a little way forwards, he found himself so incommoded by the darkness, that he again halted, and encamped; but sent away

a body of troops, to take their post upon the top of the hills that were between the two armies. Flaminius remained still in his camp near Thetidium: but being solicitous to know in what place the enemy lay, he sent away ten troops of cavalry, together with a thousand of the light-armed infantry, to make discoveries, commanding them to direct their course with caution through the country. As this party advanced, they were betrayed by the darkness, and fell, without perceiving them, among the Macedonians who had taken their station upon the top of the hills. The two bodies, being alike surprised, stood a while in suspense; but after a short time they began to engage together in action, and sent notice to their respective generals of what had happened. As the engagement became more warm, the Romans were so unequally pressed by the Macedonians, that they were forced to send and request succours from the camp. Flaminius, therefore, sent away to their assistance Archidamus and Eupolemus, both of them Ætolians, and two Roman tribunes, at the head of two thousand foot and five hundred horse. On the arrival of these forces, the face of the action soon was changed. The Romans, encouraged by this new strength, continued the fight with double ardour. The Macedonians, on the other hand, though they defended themselves with the greatest bravery, yet being now pressed in their turn, and encumbered with their heavy armour, were forced to retreat back again to the summit of the hills, and from thence sent and desired assistance also from their king. Philip, who, for the reasons already mentioned, had formed no expectation of engaging upon this day in a general battle, had sent out a great part of his troops to forage. But, being now informed of what had happened, and as the darkness also was beginning to be dispersed, he ordered Heraclides of Gyrtone, who led the Thessalian cavalry, Leon who commanded that of Macedon, and Athenagoras who was at the head of all the mercenaries except those of Thrace, to go and support

the combatants. The Macedonians, reinforced by so considerable a strength, attacked the Romans with new vigour; drove them down back again from the summit of the hills; and would have totally dispersed them, if the resistance chiefly of the Ætolian cavalry, who maintained the fight with an astonishing impetuosity and courage, had not prevented the disorder from being complete. For, as much as the infantry of this country, on account both of their arms and of the manner in which they are ranged in the field, falls below that of the rest of Greece in all general battles; so much on the other hand is their cavalry superior to all other, when they engage in separate actions, or man against man. At this time, therefore, they opposed with such success the efforts of the enemy, that the Romans were not driven quite into the plain; but turned their faces again, and stopped their flight at a little distance from it. Flaminius, perceiving not only that the cavalry and the light-armed forces were in this manner routed, but that their flight had spread a consternation also through the rest of the troops, drew his whole army out of the intrenchments, and ranged them in order of battle near the foot of the hills.

While the Romans were thus driven back, messenger after messenger, leaving the detachment upon the hills, came running to Philip, and cried aloud, "The enemies, O king, are flying; lose not the opportunity. The barbarians cannot stand before us. The day is now your own: the very moment of victory is in your hands." These vehement cries forced the king out to engage; though he altogether was dissatisfied with the nature of the ground. For the hills, of which we are speaking, are called Cynoscephalæ, from the resemblance which they bear to the head of a dog: being parted, round the summit, into ragged clifts, and stretched upwards to a considerable height. Philip, therefore, who well knew that such a ground would be very disadvantageous to his troops, had not made from the beginning any disposition for a gene-

ral battle. But, being now so urged and animated by the excessive confidence of those who brought the news of this first success, he at last gave orders to lead the whole army out of the intrenchments.

Flaminius also, having drawn up all his forces, as we have mentioned, in order of battle, and being now ready to support the detachment that was engaged upon the hills, at the same time went through all the ranks to encourage his men. The words which he employed were few, but very forcible, and such as the troops might perfectly understand. "Are not these," said he to the soldiers, as if the enemy had stood close before their eyes, "are not these the Macedonians whom you attacked upon the heights of Eordæa, advancing openly up the sides of the hills under the conduct of Sulpicius, and drove with great slaughter from their post? Are not these the Macedonians, who, when they had taken possession of the passes of Epirus, which were thought impossible to be forced, were by your courage routed and dispersed; and, throwing away their arms, continued their flight even to their own country? And can you have any thing now to fear in engaging the same enemy without any disadvantage? Does the remembrance of those successes offer any thing dreadful to your view? Ought it not rather, on the contrary, to inspire you with the strongest confidence? Rouse up then your courage, and advance boldly to the fight; for I am well assured, that, with the assistance of the gods, the present action will soon be terminated in the same glorious manner as the past." When he had ended this harangue, he ordered the right wing of his army to remain still in their post, with the elephants before them; and moved slowly with the left wing and the light-armed forces towards the enemy. The Romans that were first engaged upon the hills, perceiving themselves to be now supported by the legions, returned back again, and renewed the fight with vigour.

At the same time Philip, when he had drawn up the

greatest part of his army in order of battle before the intrenchments, putting himself at the head of the peltastæ, and the right of the phalanx, made haste to ascend the hills; and ordered Nicanor, surnamed the Elephant, to follow him without delay with the rest of the forces. As soon as the foremost of the troops had reached the summit, he began to form the right of his line upon the ground near to the top, which was now open and deserted. For the detachment from the Macedonian army, that was first engaged, had driven down the Romans to the lowest part of the hills. But while the king was still forming his right, the mercenaries that were in that detachment came running towards him in disorder, being driven back again by the Romans in their turn. For the latter, as soon as they were followed by the legionary troops, which were brought up, as we have said, to support them, were so strengthened by that new weight, that they pressed heavily upon their enemies, and destroyed great numbers of them. Philip, therefore, who, at his first arrival upon the hills, had beheld with pleasure that the place of the action was at no great distance from the Roman camp, now seeing his troops forced back again, and flying towards him for support, was compelled by this accident to advance, and engage in a general action; though the greatest part of his phalanx was still in march, and had not yet reached the summit of the hills. Having received then the troops that were forced back, he collected them all together, and placed them, both infantry and cavalry, upon his right wing; and gave orders to the peltastæ and the soldiers of the phalanx, to double their files, and close their ranks upon the right. When this was done, and the Romans now were near, he commanded the phalanx to level their spears and advance; and the light-armed forces to extend themselves, and attack the enemy in their flank.

Flaminius also, having received into the intervals of his army the troops that had been engaged, at the same time advanced against the enemy. The first shock, which was

on both sides violent, was attended likewise with a very great and unusual noise. For both bodies shouted at once together. The cries also of the rest that were at a distance were joined to those of the combatants; and filled all around with astonishment and horror. The right wing, however, of Philip had from the first onset very clearly the advantage. The higher ground from which they fought, the weight of their disposition, and the nature of their arms, well suited to the present action, all joined to give them a manifest superiority over the Romans. But with regard to the rest of the Macedonian army, the troops that were next in the line to the right stood at a distance from the enemy; and those of the left wing were not yet arrived, having but just now begun to appear upon the tops of the hills. When Flaminius, therefore, perceived that his troops were not able to maintain their ground against the phalanx, that great numbers were already killed, and the rest beginning to retreat, he went in haste, and joined the right wing of his army, which was now his only resource; and, having remarked the division and disorder of the Macedonians; that the next in the line to the troops that were engaged remained inactive at a distance; that some were just coming down from the tops of the hills, and others standing upon the summit; he placed the elephants at the head of this wing, and advanced against these several bodies. The Macedonians, not having any leader from whom they might receive the command, and being unable to form themselves into a phalanx, both on account of the inequality of the ground, and because, as they were advancing towards that part of their army that was engaged, they were still rather in the order of a march, than in any order of battle, waited not to be attacked by the Romans, but were broken at once by the elephants, and immediately dispersed. The Romans pursued them with the greatest part of their forces, and slaughtered them as they fled. But one of the tribunes, at the head of no more than twenty companies,

took at this time a measure which the occasion suggested to him, and which was chiefly the cause that rendered the victory complete. Observing that Philip had advanced far beyond the rest of his army; and that he continued to press the left wing of the Romans with a weight which they were wholly unable to sustain; he quitted the right, where the success was clear and uncontested, and making a circuit to one side, fell in behind the combatants, and charged the Macedonians in their rear. Now such is the disposition of the phalanx, that the soldiers never can turn, or engage singly man with man. The tribune, therefore, went on, killing those that were before him, till the Macedonians, having no power to defend themselves, threw away their arms, and were forced to seek their safety in flight. For the Romans also, who had before begun to retreat, now turned again, and charged them at the same time in front. When Philip, who from his first success had flattered himself, as we have said, with the expectation of a perfect victory, now saw his troops throwing away their arms, and the enemy attacking them in their rear, he retired, with a small body of infantry and cavalry, to a little distance from the place of the action, and surveyed the whole state of the battle. And when he perceived that the Romans, who were pursuing his left wing likewise, had almost reached the summit of the hills, he collected together as many of the Thracians and the Macedonians as the time would allow, and resolved to leave the field. Flaminius, as he arrived upon the tops of the hills, saw some troops of the left wing of the Macedonian army, which were just now also ascending to the summit from the opposite side. He was preparing to attack them, but stopped when he observed that they held their spears erect. This is the custom of the Macedonians, when they either surrender themselves, or pass over to the side of the enemy. The Roman general, therefore, as soon as he was informed of the intention of this signal, held back his troops from advancing, and determined to spare the men

who had not courage to resist him. But, in the instant when he was forming this resolution, some of his foremost ranks rushed down upon them, and killed a great part of them, while a very small number only threw away their arms, and escaped by flight.

The battle being now ended, and the Romans victorious in every part, Philip directed his flight towards Tempe. Having rested the first evening in the place that is called the Tower of Alexander, he arrived on the next day at Gonni, which is situated in the entrance of the valley of Tempe. In this place he halted, in order to receive all those that had escaped after the action. The Romans, having for some time pursued the fugitives, began some of them to strip the dead, and some to bring together their prisoners. But the greatest part ran to pillage the camp of the enemy. On their arrival there they found that the Ætolians had already pillaged it. Supposing themselves, therefore, to have been defrauded of their just rights, they vented bitter complaints against that people, and even loaded their own general with reproaches. "You expose us," said they, "to the dangers of the war; but the booty you allot to others." They returned back, however, to their camp, and there passed the night; and on the following day, having collected together the prisoners and the rest of the spoil, they continued their march towards Larissa. The Romans lost in this action about seven hundred men. On the side of the Macedonians, eight thousand were killed; and not fewer than five thousand taken prisoners. Such was the end of the battle of Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly, between king Philip and the Romans.

CHAP. II.

HAVING left an assurance with my readers, in the sixth book of this work, that I would choose some proper time to compare together the arms and the orders of battle of

the Macedonians, and the Romans, and to shew in what respects they severally have the advantage, or are inferior each to the other, I shall here take the occasion which the action now described has offered, and shall endeavour to discharge my promise. For as the order of battle of the Macedonian armies was found, in the experience of former ages, to be superior to that of the Asiatics and the Greeks, and the Roman order of battle in the same manner surpassed that of the Africans and all the western parts of Europe; and as, in later times, these two several orders have been often set in opposition each to the other; it must be useful, as well as curious to trace out the difference that is between them, and to explain the advantages that turned the victory to the side of the Romans in these engagements. From such a view, instead of having recourse to chance, and blindly applauding, like men of superficial understanding, the good fortune of the conquerors, we shall be able to remark with certainty the true causes of their success, and to ground our admiration upon the principles of sound sense and reason.

With regard to the battles that were fought by Annibal, and the victories which he obtained against the Romans, there is no need, upon this occasion, to enter into a long discussion of them. For it was not his arms, or his order of battle, which rendered that general superior to the Romans, but his dexterity alone, and his admirable skill. In the accounts that were given by us of those engagements, we have very clearly shewn that this was the cause of his success. And this remark is still more strongly confirmed, in the first place, by the final issue of the war. For as soon as the Romans had obtained a general, whose ability was equal to that of Annibal, they immediately became the conquerors. Add to this, that Annibal himself rejected the armour which he first had used; and having furnished the African troops with the arms that were taken from the Romans in the first battle, used afterwards no other. In the same manner also Pyrrhus employed, not

only the arms, but the troops of Italy; and ranged in alternate order a company of those troops, and a cohort disposed in the manner of the phalanx, in all his battles with the Romans. And yet, even with the advantage of this precaution, he was never able to obtain any clear or decisive victory against them. It was necessary to premise these observations, for the sake of preventing any objection that might be made to the truth of what we shall hereafter say. Let us now return to the comparison that was proposed.

It is easy then to demonstrate by many reasons, that while the phalanx retains its proper form and full power of action, no force is able to stand against it in front, or support the violence of its attack. When the ranks are closed in order to engage, each soldier, as he stands with his arms, occupies a space of three feet. The spears, in their most ancient form, contained seventeen cubits in length. But, for the sake of rendering them more commodious in action, they have since been reduced to fourteen. Of these, four cubits are contained between the part which the soldier grasps in his hands, and the lower end of the spear behind, which serves as a counterpoise to the part that is extended before him; and the length of this last part from the body of the soldier, when the spear is pushed forwards with both hands against the enemy, is by consequence ten cubits. From hence it follows, that when the phalanx is closed in its proper form, and every soldier pressed within the necessary distance with respect to the man that is before him and upon his side, the spears of the fifth rank are extended to the length of two cubits, and those of the second, third, and fourth to a still greater length, beyond the foremost rank. The manner in which the men are crowded together in this method is marked by Homer in the following lines:

> Shield stuck to shield, to helmet helmet join'd,
> And man to man; and at each nod that bow'd

High waving on their heads the glittering cones,
Rattled the hair-crown'd casques: so thick they stood[a].

This description is not less exact than beautiful. It is manifest then, that five several spears, differing each from the other in the length of two cubits, are extended before every man in the foremost rank. And when it is considered, likewise, that the phalanx is formed by sixteen in depth, it will be easy to conceive what must be the weight and violence of the entire body, and how great the force of its attack. In the ranks, indeed, that are behind the fifth, the spears cannot reach so far as to be employed against the enemy. In these ranks, therefore, the soldiers, instead of extending their spears forwards, rest them upon the shoulders of the men that are before them, with their points slanting upwards; and in this manner they form a kind of rampart which covers their heads, and secures them against those darts which may be carried in their flight beyond the first ranks, and fall upon those that are behind. But when the whole body advances to charge the enemy, even these hindmost ranks are of no small use and moment. For as they press continually upon those that are before them, they add, by their weight alone, great force to the attack, and deprive also the foremost ranks of the power of drawing themselves backwards or retreating. Such, then, is the disposition of the phalanx, with regard both to the whole and the several parts. Let us now consider the arms, and the order of battle, of the Romans, that we may see by the comparison in what respects they are different from those of the Macedonians.

To each of the Roman soldiers, as he stands in arms, is allotted the same space likewise of three feet. But as every soldier in the time of action is constantly in motion; being forced to shift his shield continually, that he may cover any part of his body against which a stroke is aimed;

[a] Iliad, xiii. 131.

and to vary the position of his sword, so as either to push, or to make a falling stroke, there must also be a distance of three feet, the least that can be allowed for performing these motions with advantage, between each soldier and the man that stands next to him, both upon his side and behind him. In charging, therefore, against the phalanx, every single Roman, as he has two Macedonians opposite to him, has also ten spears, which he is forced to encounter. But it is not possible for a single man to cut down these spears with his sword, before they can take effect against him. Nor is it easy, on the other hand, to force his way through them. For the men that are behind add no weight to the pressure, nor any strength to the swords, of those that are in the foremost rank. It will be easy, therefore, to conceive, that, while the phalanx retains its own proper position and strength, no troops, as I before observed, can ever support the attack of it in front. To what cause then is it to be ascribed that the Roman armies are victorious, and those defeated that employ the phalanx? The cause is this. In war, the times and the places of action are various and indefinite. But there is only one time and place, one fixed and determinate manner of action, that is suited to the phalanx. In the case then of a general action, if an enemy be forced to encounter with the phalanx in the very time and place which the latter requires, it is probable in the highest degree, from the reasons that have been mentioned, that the phalanx always must obtain the victory. But if it be possible to avoid an engagement in such circumstances, and indeed it is easy to do it, there is then nothing to be dreaded from this order of battle. It is a well known and an acknowledged truth, that the phalanx requires a ground that is plain and naked, and free likewise from obstacles of every kind; such as trenches, breaks, obliquities, the brows of hills, or the channels of rivers; and that any of these are sufficient to impede it, and to dissolve the order in which it is formed. On the other hand again, it must

as readily be allowed, that, if it be not altogether impossible, it is at least extremely rare, to find a ground containing twenty stadia, or more, in its extent, and free from all these obstacles. But let it however be supposed, that such a ground may perhaps be found. If the enemy, instead of coming down upon it, should lead their army through the country, plundering the cities, and ravaging the lands, of what use then will be the phalanx? As long as it remains in this convenient post, it not only has no power to succour its friends, but cannot even preserve itself from ruin. For the troops that are masters of the whole country without resistance will easily cut off from it all supplies. And if, on the other hand, it should relinquish its own proper ground, and endeavour to engage in action, the advantage is then so great against it, that it soon becomes an easy prey to the enemy.

But farther; let it be supposed that the enemy will come down into this plain. Yet, if he brings not his whole army at once to receive the attack of the phalanx; or if, in the instant of the charge, he withdraws himself a little from the action; it is easy to determine what will be the consequence, from the present practice of the Romans. For we now draw not our discourse from bare reasoning only, but from facts which have lately happened. When the Romans attack the phalanx in front, they never employ all their forces, so as to make their line equal to that of the enemy; but lead on a part only of their troops, and keep the rest of the army in reserve. Now, whether the troops of the phalanx break the line that is opposed to them, or whether themselves are broken, the order peculiar to the phalanx is alike dissolved. For if they pursue the fugitives, or if, on the other hand, they retreat and are pursued, in either case they are separated from the rest of their own body. And thus there is left some interval or space which the reserve of the Roman army takes care to seize, and then charges the remaining part of the phalanx, not in front, but in flank, or in the rear. As it is easy

then to avoid the times and circumstances that are advantageous to the phalanx; and as those, on the contrary, that are disadvantageous to it can never be avoided; it is certain that this difference alone must carry with it a decisive weight in the time of action.

To this it may be added, that the troops of the phalanx also are, like others, forced to march, and to encamp, in every kind of place; to be the first to seize the advantageous posts; to invest an enemy, or be invested; and to engage also in sudden actions, without knowing that an enemy was near. These things all happen in war; and either tend greatly to promote, or sometimes wholly determine, the victory. But, at all such times, the Macedonian order of battle either cannot be employed, or is employed in a manner that is altogether useless. For the troops of the phalanx lose all their strength when they engage in separate companies, or man with man. The Roman order, on the contrary, is never attended, even upon such occasions, with any disadvantage. Among the Romans every single soldier when he is once armed and ready for service, is alike fitted to engage in any time or place, or upon any appearance of the enemy; and preserves always the same power, and the same capacity of action, whether he engages with the whole of the army, or only with a part; whether in separate companies, or singly man against man. As the parts, therefore, in the Roman order of battle, are so much better contrived for use than those in the other, so the success also in action must, in the same proportion, be greater in the one than the other. If I have been long in examining this subject, it was because many of the Greeks, at the time when the Macedonians were defeated, regarded that event as a thing surpassing all belief; and because many others also may hereafter wish to know, from what reasons, and in what particular respects, the order of phalanx is excelled by the arms and the order of battle of the Romans. I now return from my digression.

Philip, when he had done all that was possible in the

battle, and had suffered an entire defeat, collected together as many of the troops as were able to escape, and directed his retreat through Tempe towards Macedon; but first sent away one of his guards to Larissa, in the very night that followed the action, with orders to destroy and burn all the royal papers. This attention which he shewed, even in the very moment of his distress, not to leave so necessary a duty unperformed, was indeed highly worthy of a king. For he knew that if these papers should fall into the hands of the Romans, they would afford many pretences that might be employed against himself and his friends. There are others, perhaps, to be found, who have not borne the power of prosperous fortune like men; but have stood firm under the pressure of adversity, and supported themselves by their caution and prudence. But this was very peculiarly the character of Philip; as it will be seen in the following parts of this work. For as we gave a distinct account of the happy disposition and virtuous tendency of this prince in the beginning of his reign; and shewed afterwards from what causes, and in what time and manner, he changed his conduct, and pursued a different course of action; it will be no less our duty also to shew, in what manner he returned again to a better mind, and by what wise management, when his misfortunes had inspired him with different sentiments, he adjusted all his measures to that necessity which the times in which he found himself imposed. The Roman general, when he had made the necessary disposition of the prisoners and the rest of the spoil, continued his march with the army towards Larissa.

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

Men who are most practised in deceit, are often deceived through want of caution.

IT is manifest then from this example, that though we are all so liable to be deceived, both by the same arts and the

same instruments also of fraud, yet we are never sufficiently upon our guard against them. For this very artifice has been practised upon many occasions, and by many persons. It is not strange, perhaps, that mankind in general should so often fall into the snare. But that those men who are, as we may say, the very source of all deceit, should be themselves deceived, may reasonably be thought astonishing. But indeed this only happens to them because they do not recollect upon such occasions the wise admonition of Epicharmus. "Be sober, and distrustful; these are the nerves of the mind."

EXTRACT THE FIFTH.

The conferences of Lysimachia between Antiochus and the Roman deputies.

ABOUT this time, with the rest of the ten Roman deputies, came Publius Lentulus from Bargylia, and Lucius Terentius and Publius Vilius from Thassus; and within a few days afterwards, notice of their arrival having been immediately conveyed to the king, they all assembled together at Lysimachia. Hegesianax also, and Lysias, who had been deputed from Antiochus to Flaminius, were at the same time present. In the private interviews that passed between the Romans and the king, nothing was to be seen but frankness and civility. But when they were afterwards all assembled together, and brought their business into debate, the aspect of things was not so friendly. For Lucius Cornelius, as he desired the king to deliver up those cities in Asia which he had torn from the dominions of Ptolemy, at the same time pressed him also in the most peremptory terms to relinquish those that had belonged to Philip; since nothing, as he said, could be more absurd than that, when the Romans had maintained a war against that prince, Antiochus should come afterwards and carry away the spoils. He exhorted him likewise not to assume any power over the cities that were free; and then added,

that, upon the whole, he could not but wonder what design had induced him to pass into Europe with so powerful a fleet and army. That, if the thing were to be well considered, no other motive could indeed be assigned for such an expedition, but an intention to make war upon the Romans.

The king replied to this discourse, "That he knew not upon what grounds of reason his possession of the cities of Asia was now contested; and that the Romans, of all others, had certainly no right to bring his title into dispute. That he wished that they would abstain from meddling with the affairs of Asia; as much as he was careful not to meddle at any time with those of Italy. That his design in passing into Europe was to recover the Chersonesus, and the cities of Thrace, which were properly a part of his own dominions. That those places had belonged originally to Lysimachus; and, when that prince was attacked and vanquished by Seleucus, they had passed, with the rest of his kingdom, to the conqueror, by the just rights of war. That in succeeding times, while the attention of his ancestors was drawn away to other objects, Ptolemy had first usurped some parts of the dominions that were so acquired, and Philip afterwards the rest. That he did not, therefore, now possess them, as taking an advantage from the misfortunes of Philip; but only as improving an opportunity which was fair to himself, and favourable for the recovery of his own proper right. That in bringing back the inhabitants of Lysimachia, when they had been driven out by the Thracians, and restoring the city to its former state, he had done no injury to the Romans, nor shewed any intention to attack them; but designed only to make the place a seat of residence for his son Seleucus. That, with respect to the cities of Asia that were free, it was fit that they should owe their liberty to his grace and favour, and not to the command of the Romans. And lastly, with regard also to Ptolemy, that he should be ready without the interposition of others to adjust all disputes in the

manner which himself should desire; for he had resolved not only to live in friendship, but even to contract likewise an affinity with that prince."

It was then proposed by Lucius, that the Lampsacenians and Smyrnæans should be called in and heard; and this accordingly was done. On the part of the former appeared Parmenio and Pythodorus; and on that of the latter Cœranus. But as they were beginning to harangue with great boldness and freedom, Antiochus, being uneasy that he should in this manner seem to give an account of his conduct before the Romans, stopped Parmenio from proceeding in his discourse, and said, that it was not the Romans, but the Rhodians, that were the proper judges of the matter in dispute. Upon this the conference was immediately broken up; and the parties all retired, being alike dissatisfied with each other.

EXTRACT THE SIXTH.

The death of Scopas, the Ætolian, at Alexandria.

THOUGH there are many indeed who would wish to draw glory from hazardous actions, there are but few who have the courage to undertake them. And yet Scopas had advantages far greater than Cleomenes, if he had been willing to try the fortune of some bold and desperate attempt. For the latter had been unexpectedly prevented by his enemies; and had no hope left, except in the assistance of his domestics and his friends. He resolved, however, to make trial of that hope, and chose rather to die with honour, than to survive with disgrace. But Scopas, on the contrary, though he had a strong force ready to support him, and though the infancy of the king rendered the opportunity also highly favourable, was prevented merely through his own irresolution and delay. For Aristomenes, having received notice that he had assembled his friends together at his house, and was holding a

consultation with them, sent some of the guards to require him to attend the royal council. On receiving this message, Scopas was struck with such confusion that he had neither courage to carry any thing into execution, nor resolution to obey the orders of the king. This was senseless in the highest degree. Aristomenes, therefore, being informed of his folly, surrounded the house with some troops and elephants, and at the same time sent Ptolemy, the son of Eumenes, with a body of young soldiers, to conduct him to the council, if he was willing to come, or otherwise to bring him by force. When Ptolemy entered the house, and told him that the king commanded his attendance, Scopas seemed not at first to pay any regard to what he said; but, fixing his eyes stedfastly upon him, for some time continued to survey him with a threatening air, as if he had been astonished at his boldness. The other, coming nearer, roughly seized him by his mantle; and Scopas then called upon his friends to help him. But as many of the soldiers were now come in, and some person also informed him that the house was surrounded by troops, he was forced to yield to the necessity, and followed Ptolemy, together with his friends. As soon as he appeared before the council, the charge against him having been opened in a few words by the king, was then continued by Polycrates, who had lately arrived from Cyprus, and afterwards by Aristomenes. The chief heads of the accusation were the facts which have before been mentioned. To these only were added, the secret meetings which he had held with his friends, and his refusal to obey the orders of the king. Upon these facts he was condemned, not only by the council, but by the ambassadors also that were present. For Aristomenes had called together upon this occasion, besides many other illustrious men from Greece, the ambassadors likewise that had been sent by the Ætolians to negociate a peace. Among these was Dorimachus, the son of Nicostratus. When the accusers had ended, Scopas attempted indeed to say some-

thing in his own defence; but the guilt of his actions was so manifest, that what he urged made no impression. He was conveyed therefore to prison with his friends; and, in the following night, by the orders of Aristomenes, ended his life by poison, together with his friends. But Dicæarchus, by the same orders, after he had first been tortured, was whipped to death with rods; and thus suffered the punishment that was both suitable to his crimes, and due likewise to the common vengeance of all Greece. For this was the same Dicæarchus who, when Philip had resolved, in contempt of treaties, to invade the Cyclade islands, and the cities of the Hellespont, was appointed by that prince the commander of all his fleet, and chief leader of the whole expedition. Employed in a design so manifestly impious, he was so far from being shocked at the injustice of his undertaking, that he endeavoured, by an action of the most abandoned profligacy, to strike both the gods and men with horror. For, when he had brought his fleet to anchor, he erected two altars, one to Impiety, and the other to Injustice; offered sacrifices upon them; and adored those vices as if they had been divinities. It seems, therefore, that both the gods and men concurred to inflict upon him a most proper punishment. For it was reasonable that a man, whose life had been so contrary to nature, should die also a death that was unnatural. The rest of the Ætolians, who were willing to return to their own country, were dismissed by the king, and allowed to carry with them all their goods. With regard to Scopas, that passion for acquiring wealth, in which he was known during his life to surpass all other men, appeared still more conspicuously after his death, from the great quantity of money and of valuable goods that was found in his house. His custom was, to employ the debauched and profligate as the ministers of his rapine; and, with the help of such associates, he forced his way into the strongest places through all the kingdom, and ransacked them in search of treasure.

When this disorder was so happily composed, the ministers of the court resolved to celebrate the Anacleteria, or proclamation of the king. For though this prince had not yet arrived at the customary age, it was thought that, if he should now seem to take the supreme authority into his own hands, the affairs of the kingdom would acquire a more settled form, and might be again brought back into a better train. The preparations upon this occasion were very sumptuous; and the ceremony performed with a magnificence that was worthy of such a sovereign. It was supposed that Polycrates was the person by whose means chiefly this measure was carried into execution. This Polycrates, under the reign of the father of the present prince, though he was then very young, had rendered himself, both by his services and his fidelity, one of the most distinguished persons of the court. Nor was the credit less which he had acquired in the present reign. For having been entrusted with the government of Cyprus, and the care of collecting the revenues of that country, in most difficult and unsettled times, he not only had preserved the island for the infant king, but amassed likewise a very large treasure; and now brought it with him to Alexandria, after he had first resigned his government to Ptolemy of Megalopolis. On account of this important service, he was received with great applause, and became afterwards very powerful. And yet this man, as he advanced in age, started aside from this honourable course, and plunged himself into a life of vice and profligacy. The same dishonour is said also to have attended the old age of Ptolemy, the son of Agesander. When we arrive at the proper time, we shall take care to give some account of the scandalous actions which they committed, after they had raised themselves into power.

INDEX.

ABBA, a city of Afric, near Carthage, ii. 381.
Abilyx, delivers to the Romans the hostages which Annibal had taken from the cities of Spain, i. 294.
Abydus, advantages of the situation of this place and of Sestus, ii. 439. Siege of Abydus by Philip, *ibid.* Desperate resolution of the inhabitants, 440.
Acarnanians, their character, i. 357.
Achæans; their history, and form of government, i. 143, 146. Take arms to assist the Messenians, 327. Are defeated in the plains of Caphyæ, 333, 334. Demand succours from their allies, 337. Confirm the decree of the general council, and declare war against the Ætolians, 353. Gain a complete victory against the Spartans in the battle of Mantinea, ii. 330. Never employ any deceit or artifice in matters of policy, or in war, 368.
Achæus, left governor of the country on this side of mount Taurus, ii. 45. Assumes the royal name, 64. Attempts to take Selga by surprise, is repulsed; makes peace with the Selgians; reduces Milyas, and the greater part of Pamphylia, 84, 85. Is closely besieged in the citadel of Sardes, 203. Attempts to escape; is betrayed, and delivered into the hands of Antiochus, and suffers a cruel and infamous punishment, 208—210. His misfortune deserved pity, and not censure, 192.
Acrocorinthus, one of the horns of Peloponnesus; the latter being denoted as the bull, ii. 184.
Adherbal, engages the Roman fleet near Drepanum, and gains a complete victory, i. 59—61.
Adimantus, one of the Spartan ephori, is killed in a popular tumult, i. 349.
Æmilius, sent with an army into Illyria, i. 198. Takes Dimalus by storm, 199. Sails away to attack Demetrius in Pharos, 200. Obtains a complete victory; and, having settled the state of Illyria, returns to Rome, and enters the city in triumph, 201, 202. Is chosen consul with Terentius Varro, 302. Sets out to join the army, 304, 305. His harangue to the soldiers, 305—307. His reasons for delaying a battle, 307. Commands the right of the Roman army in

the battle of Cannæ, 314. His behaviour in the action; death and character, 315. Carries the orders of the Roman senate to Philip; a particular account of his interview with that prince, ii. 443.

Æneas, a writer on the art of war: his method of conveying intelligence by the means of lighted torches, ii. 308.

Ætolians; their character and general conduct, i. 150, 151, 321, 339, 353. Enter Peloponnesus with an army, 327. Pay no regard to the laws of war or peace, but are always ready to invade both friends and foes, ii. 451. Their greediness in pillaging the Macedonian camp after the battle of Cynoscephale, 469. Their treaty with the Romans shameful to themselves, and dangerous in its consequences to the whole of Greece, 257, 258, 322.

Afric, its situation and boundaries, i. 220. A country of great fertility, falsely represented by Timæus, ii. 350.

Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily. Some account of his character and great exploits, ii. 356, 422.

Agathocles, the guardian of young Ptolemy: his ill conduct gives occasion to a popular insurrection, in which he is killed with all his family, ii. 412, 420.

Agelaus, his discourse to Philip and the deputies of the states of Greece, ii. 110.

Agrigentum, besieged by the Romans, i. 19, 20. Taken and pillaged, 22. Description of this city, ii. 247.

Alexander, king of Macedon; some memorable instances of his piety, ii. 12, 13. The account given by Callisthenes of the famous battle between Alexander and Darius in Cilicia, shewn to be full of contradiction and absurdity, 358—364.

Alexander, brother of Molon, is appointed governor of Persis by Antiochus, ii. 45. Revolts against the king, *ibid.* His death, 60.

Alexander, surnamed the Isian, his harangue at the time of the conferences between Philip, Flaminius, and the allies of Greece, ii. 449.

Alexandria, an insurrection of the soldiery and people in that city, ii. 417.

Allobroges, oppose the Carthaginians in their march across the Alps, i. 235.

Ambassadors: perfidious attempt of the Carthaginians against some Roman ambassadors, ii. 389, 390. Different conduct of Scipio. The rights of ambassadors considered as sacred among the Romans, 392.

Ambracus, besieged by Philip, i. 392, 393.

Amilcar, commands the left of the Carthaginian fleet in the battle of Ecnomus, i. 32. His stratagem, *ibid.*

Amilcar Barcas, is made general in the war of Sicily, i. 65. His character and conduct, 65, 66. Concludes a treaty

with the Romans, 72. Is made general in the war against the Carthaginian mercenaries, 86. Gets the chief of the rebels into his power, 98. Defeats Matho, and puts an end to the war, 100. Passes into Spain with an army, 102. His death, 103. His hatred of the Romans, one cause of the second war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, 191.

Amynander, king of the Athamanians; a man of an easy disposition: is employed by Flaminius as an instrument in promoting his designs, ii. 456.

Anarchy: in the natural revolutions of civil government, anarchy rises out of the government of the multitude, and ends in absolute monarchy, ii. 128, 129.

Andobalis, a prince of Spain, breaks his alliance with the Carthaginians, and joins the Romans, ii. 299. Motives of his conduct, 300, 301. Again revolts from the Romans; is followed by Scipio, and defeated in battle, 345—347.

Animals: brute animals more cautious than men, ii. 409, 410.

Annibal, retreats with his army by night from Agrigentum, i. 22. Is defeated by Duilius in a sea engagement, 27, 28. Is blocked up by the Romans in a port of Sardinia, and put to death by his own soldiers, 28.

Annibal, a general in the African war, is surprised in his camp, taken prisoner, and fixed alive upon a cross, i. 99.

Annibal, the Rhodian, enters the harbour of Lilybæum through the midst of the Roman fleet, i. 54.

Annibal, son of Amilcar Barcas, at the age of nine years attends his father into Spain, and swears perpetual enmity against the Romans, i. 192, 193. Is declared general of the Carthaginian army in Spain, 194. Subdues the Olcades and Vaccæans, *ibid.* Defeats the Carpesians in a great battle, 195. His answer to the Roman ambassadors, on the subject of the Saguntines, 196. Marches to attack Saguntum, and becomes master of the place after a siege of eight months, 198, 199. Prepares for his expedition into Italy, 215—217. Passes the Iberus, and reduces all the nations that were between that river and the Pyrenæan mountains, 218. Continues his march towards the Rhone, passes that river, and defeats a great army of barbarians who came to dispute his passage, 226. Harangues his troops, and continues his march towards the Alps, 228—231. Arrives at a place called the Island, 234. Defeats the Allobroges, 237. Falls into a new danger from the treachery of the people who inhabited the sides of the mountains, 238. Gains the summit of the Alps, encourages his troops, and prepares to descend the mountains, 239, 240. Arrives in the plains on the third day, with no more than twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse,

242. Subdues the Taurinians, and continues his march, 246. Contrives a spectacle to animate his troops, 249. Engages and defeats the consul Publius, 253. Passes the Po, and advances in pursuit of the Roman army, 254, 255. Defeats the Romans in the battle of Trebia, 263. Fixes his winter quarters in Cisalpine Gaul, 268. His treatment of the prisoners, *ibid.* His artifice to secure himself against the perfidy of the Gauls, 269. Conducts his army by a dangerous march through the marshes into Tyrrhenia. 269, 270. Regulates his conduct by the disposition and character of Flaminius, 271, 272. Defeats the Romans in the battle of Thrasymene, 275, 276. Passes through Umbria and Picenum, and fixes his camp near Adria, 279. Attends to the refreshment and recovery of his troops, 281. Advances into Apulia, and offers battle to the Roman dictator Fabius, 281, 282. Enters Campania, and wastes the country without being able to draw the enemy to a battle, 285, 286. Stratagem by which he effected his retreat, 287. Makes himself master of Gerunium, 297. Is attacked in his camp by Minucius, and suffers great loss, 298. Defeats Minucius in a second action, 301. Makes himself master of the citadel of Cannæ, 303. Harangues his troops, 308. Gains a complete victory against the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, 311. Concludes a treaty with Philip, king of Macedon, ii. 182. Renders himself master of Tarentum, with the assistance of some of the citizens, ii. 211, 218. Attempts to force the Romans to raise the siege of Capua, 226. Failing in this attempt, he advances with the same intention in the neighbourhood of Rome, and encamps at the distance of only forty stadia from the city, 228. Is prevented by an accident from taking the city by storm; and returns, after having plundered the country, and killed a great number of the Romans who followed him in his retreat, 230—232. Is called out of Italy with his army to defend his own country, 384. His preparations for a battle, 391, 392. Desires a conference with Scipio, 393. His speech upon that occasion, 394. His disposition in the battle of Zama; his harangue to the army; and his entire defeat, 399—404. His behaviour in the senate of Carthage after the battle, 407. Reflections on his great abilities and prudence, ii. 296, 333. Cause of his failing in his war against the Romans, 334.

Antigonus Gonatas, established a great number of tyrants in the cities of Greece, i. 147.

Antigonus, invited into Greece by Aratus, i. 154. Enters Peloponnesus with an army, 160. Defeats Cleomenes in the battle of Selasia, 175, 176. Enters Sparta, and restores the city to its ancient freedom, 179. His death and character, *ibid.*

Antiochus raised to the throne of Syria upon the death of his

brother, ii. 45. Resolves to attempt the conquest of Cœle-Syria, 47. Is forced to desist from his design by the revolt of Molon, 51. Marches in person against the rebels, and gains a complete victory, 59, 60. Causes Hermias, his first minister, to be killed, 63. Resumes his design of invading Cœle-Syria, 65. Makes himself master of Seleucia, 66—68. Enters Cœle-Syria, and gains possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, 69. Is deceived by the artful management of the ministers of Ptolemy, 73. Renews the attack upon Cœle-Syria by land and sea with great success, 75. Engages in a general battle near Raphia, 89. Is defeated by Ptolemy, and sues for peace, 93, 94. Manner in which he rendered himself master of the city of Sardes, 185. Invests Achæus afterwards in the citadel, and having gotten that prince into his hands by the treachery of Bolis, punishes him with a cruel death, and prevails with the garrison to surrender the citadel, 203—211. His expedition into Parthia and Hyrcania, 289—294. His courage and fame, 349. His ambitious designs against young Ptolemy in what manner punished, 408, 409. His conference at Lysimachia with the Roman deputies, 477.

Apelles, minister of Philip; his designs against the Achæans, i. 408. Endeavours to destroy the credit of Aratus, 416. Conspires with Leontius and Megaleas to obstruct all the measures of the king, ii. 3. Is disgraced, and punished with death, 30, 33.

Apollophanes, physician to Antiochus, forms the project of destroying Hermias, ii. 62. Urges the king to undertake the conquest of Seleucia, 65.

Appius Claudius, passes over to Messana, and gains a victory against the Carthaginians and Syracusans, i. 12, 13. In conjunction with Marcellus attempts to take Syracuse by assault, and is forced to desist from his design by the inventions of Archimedes, ii. 194—198.

Aratus, the chief author and support of the Achæan confederacy, i. 146. Invites Antigonus into Greece, 154. Is defeated by the Ætolians near Caphyæ, 334. His defence before the council of the Achæan states, 337. Defeats the projects of Apelles, 144. His character at large, i. 328, 329. His attempt to take Cynætha by surprise; in what manner frustrated, ii. 241. Is poisoned by the order of Philip; his moderation upon that occasion, and honours are decreed to him by the Achæans after his death, 199, 200.

Arcadians, their character and customs, i. 344—347.

Archimedes, invents various machines, and repels the Romans in their approaches against the city of Syracuse, ii. 194—197.

Aristocracy: what is truly an aristocracy, ii. 122. Is the next

in the succession of the different forms of government to royalty, after the latter has degenerated into tyranny, 127. Being changed into oligarchy, it then gives birth to democracy, 128.

Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, his crimes and death, i. 167—169.

Aristotle; his account of the Locrians of Italy confirmed by the traditions that are found among that people, ii. 353.

Arms: description of those belonging to the several bodies that compose a Roman legion, ii. 141—143. The armour of the Roman cavalry borrowed from the Greeks, 145. The Roman arms well contrived both for protection and offence, 404. Sentiments of Philopœmen concerning the brightness of arms, 324.

Arsaces, one of the founders of the Parthian empire, retreats before Antiochus, ii. 290, 291.

Asdrubal appointed to command in Spain after the death of Amilcar, i. 103. Concludes a treaty with the Romans, 116. Is killed in his tent, 141.

Asdrubal, brother of Annibal, entrusted by him with the government of Spain, i. 216. Was left to command in Spain when the latter marched into Italy, ii. 318. Is defeated by Publius Scipio in a general engagement, 302. Collects the remains of his army, and passes the Pyrenæan mountains in order to join his brother, 303. Having entered Italy, is intercepted by the consuls Livius and Claudius, and forced to engage in a general battle; is defeated, and falls in the action: his character, 317, 318.

Asdrubal, commands the left of the Carthaginian army in the battle of Cannæ, i. 312. His wise conduct in the action, 314.

Asdrubal, the son of Gesco, is defeated in Spain by Publius Scipio, ii. 334.

Asia; its situation and boundaries, i. 219.

Aspasians, a barbarous people of Asia: the manner in which they pass the Oxus, ii. 313.

Astronomy; some parts of that science necessary to be acquired by the commander of an army, ii. 239—244.

Athenians; eager, precipitate, and ungovernable, ii. 145. Owed all their glory to favourable accidents, 164. Their state compared to a ship in which there is no commander, *ibid.*

Attalus, king of Pergamus, in conjunction with the Rhodians gains the victory against Philip in a naval battle, ii. 426. Artifice by which he saved himself when his vessel was taken in that engagement, 430.

Attica; estimate of the wealth of that province, i. 171.

Autaritus, one of the chiefs in the revolt of the mercenaries, cuts off all means of accommodation, by prevailing on the

multitude to exercise the most horrid cruelty against the prisoners, i. 91, 92. Goes to the Carthaginian camp to treat of peace, is seized, and put to death, 98.
Avarice, compared to a dropsy, ii. 368.

Babyrtas; his name applied in derision to Dorimachus, i. 324.
Battle between Scipio and Asdrubal in Spain, ii. 303. Between Asdrubal and the Romans in Italy, 318. Between Philopœmen and Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, in the plain of Mantinea, 326. Between Scipio and Asdrubal, the son of Gesco, in Spain, 336. Battle of Zama, 397—403. Of Cynoscephalæ, between Philip and Flaminius, 465. Order of battle of the Romans very difficult to be broken, 403. Comparison of the Roman order of battle with the Macedonian, 469.
Boian Gauls, twice defeated by the Romans, i. 123. Are attacked in their own country, and surrender to the Romans at discretion, 135. Revolt again at the approach of Annibal, 222.
Bolis, a Cretan, employed by Sosibius to save Achæus, betrays his trust, and delivers that prince into the hands of his enemies, ii. 203.
Booty; the manner observed by the Romans in the distribution of it, ii. 281.
Bostar, is prevailed on by Abilyx to deliver up the Spanish hostages, i. 294.
Brennus, led an army of Gauls into the very midst of Greece, ii. 256.
Byzantines, exact an impost from all vessels that sailed into the Pontus, 378. Are attacked by Prusias, and the Rhodians, 380.
Byzantium described, i. 367.

Calamity; an exaggerated description of calamity, very improper for history, ii. 423. The remembrance of calamities naturally excites the hatred of men against the authors of them, 235.
Callisthenes, one of the most eminent of the ancient writers, mistaken in his opinion concerning the Cretan government, ii. 166. Guilty of many gross contradictions and absurdities in his description of the battle between Alexander and Darius in Cilicia, ii. 358—364.
Camp: manner in which the Romans form theirs; with a particular description and account of its extent, circumference, and several parts, ii. 147. Duties of the officers and soldiers in the camp, 152. Different method of the Greeks, 163. The two camps of Asdrubal and Syphax set fire to in the night by Scipio, ii. 378. The circumference of a camp no

certain rule for judging of the number of troops which it contains, 245.
Campania, the noblest part of Italy, i. 284, 285.
Cannæ, battle of, i. 312.
Capua besieged by the Romans, ii. 226—231.
Carthage; its situation described, i. 84. The government of Carthage, like those of Rome and Sparta, was a mixture of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy, ii. 172. Was tending to its decline at the time of the war of Annibal, when the democratical part of the constitution had too much prevailed: this change was the chief cause that the Carthaginians were conquered in the war, 172, 173.
Carthage (New), in Spain: situation and great advantages of that city, ii. 271—275. Taken by Scipio, 275—280.
Carthaginians; their courage and constancy, i. 38. Their imprudent conduct with respect to the mercenaries, 77. Their wrong policy in the government of Afric, 82, 83. Causes of their second war against the Romans, 191. Maintain at one time four different armies in Italy and Spain, besides another in Sicily, and a fleet, ii. 193. Their ill-treatment of the Spaniards, and the effect which it produced, 299, 300. After repeated defeats in Afric, they recal Annibal from Italy, 384. Break a treaty which they had concluded with the Romans, and attempt to destroy the Roman ambassadors, 389, 390. Again sue for peace in the most abject manner, and submit to the conditions imposed by Scipio, 405. Were the first in the knowledge of naval affairs; but inferior to the Romans in the establishment and discipline of their armies, ii. 172. Owed their victories in the war of Annibal chiefly to their cavalry, 227. Inferior to the people of Italy in bodily strength and courage, 173. Addicted to the love of gain, and suffer corruption to be openly practised in the disposal of the offices of the state, 176.
Cavalry, among the Romans, appointed by the censors according to the rate of their revenue, 140. Its division into troops; their arms, and stipends, 144, 160.
Cavarus, mediates a peace between Prusias and the Byzantines, i. 383.
Cecilius, the Roman consul, obtains a great victory against the Carthaginians, i. 47.
Celtiberians; their great bravery in an engagement between the Carthaginians and the Romans, ii. 383.
Censors, among the Romans, let the public works to farm, ii. 137.
Centurions, in the Roman army, how chosen, their duties and stipends, ii. 143, 153, 160.
Cephallenia; its situation described, ii. 5.
Chilon, a Lacedæmonian, raises a tumult in the city, i. 415.

Chios: naval battle near that island, between Philip and the Rhodians, ii. 425.
Chlæneas, ambassador from the Ætolians to the Lacedæmonians. His speech upon that occasion, filled with accusation and invective against the kings of Macedon, ii. 248.
Claudius Marcellus, the Roman consul, is killed in a skirmish; reflections on that accident, ii. 295.
Cleomenes, engages in a war against the Achæans, i. 152. Subdues many cities of Peloponnesus, 158. Makes himself master of Megalopolis, 161. His severe treatment of the inhabitants, 161, 162. Is defeated in the battle of Selasia, and sails away to Alexandria, 179. Solicits succours from Ptolemy, ii. 39. His imprisonment and death, 43, 44. Fails in an attempt to take Megalopolis, from not having made a proper computation of time, ii. 242, 243.
Confidence in others is dangerous, and when necessary should be with great caution, ii. 191, 211.
Conquest is more easy than to make a good use of victory, ii. 299, 300.
Consuls, among the Romans; powers allotted to them in the constitution of the government, ii. 132.
Corsica; mistakes of Timæus in his account of that island, ii. 351.
Corvi; description of the machines of so called, i. 26.
Crete: its government bears no such resemblance to that of Sparta as writers have commonly supposed; is purely democratical. Manners of the Cretans, ii. 165—167.
Cynætha, pillaged by the Ætolians, i. 342, 343.
Cynætheans, distinguished by their wickedness and cruelty above all the Greeks, i. 345. The cause of their degeneracy, *ibid.*
Cynoscephalæ; battle near the hills of that name in Thessaly, between king Philip and the Romans, ii. 463.

Demetrius of Pharos, delivers up Corcyra to the Romans, i. 113. Is assisted by them in gaining many cities of Illyria, 114. Deserts the party of the Romans, 197. Is attacked by Æmilius in Pharos, 200. Escapes after his defeat to the court of Philip, 201. His character, *ibid.* He urges Philip to take part in the affairs of Italy, ii. 108. Advises Philip to pay no regard to his faith, 184.
Demetrius Phalereus; his observation concerning the manner of training a body of troops, illustrated by an apt comparison, ii. 288.
Democracy, one of the forms of government: rises out of oligarchy, and degenerates into the government of the multitude, ii. 128. What is to be esteemed a just democracy, 122.

Diana, a wonderful story concerning a statue of that goddess, ii. 435.
Dicearchus, raises two altars, one to Impiety and another to Injustice; was punished afterwards in a manner very suitable to his wickedness, ii. 481.
Difficulty ought not to deter men from pursuing knowledge, ii. 312, 313.
Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, drew his origin from the lowest of the people: judgment of Publius Scipio concerning him and Agathocles, ii. 422.
Discipline, severity with which it was exercised in the Roman armies, ii. 155—158.
Dorimachus, general of the Ætolians, his character and conduct, i. 322. Author of the war against the Messenians, 324. Defeats Aratus in the battle of Caphyæ, 334. Pillages Cynætha, 343. Attempts to take Ægira, and is repulsed, 389, 390.
Dress; an affected nicety in dress, more suitable to women than to soldiers, ii. 324.
Duilius, defeats the Carthaginian fleet near Mylæ, i. 26—28.

Ecbatana, the ancient capital of Media; some account of its situation, splendour, and magnificence, ii. 289.
Echinus, siege of that city by Philip, ii. 260.
Edeco, the first of the princes of Spain who left the Carthaginians and joined the Romans. His interview with Scipio upon that occasion, ii. 297, 298.
Egyptians, the anger of that people always attended with most terrible cruelty, ii. 421.
Eleans; their manners and condition, i. 406. Their conduct censured, 407.
Elephants, conducted by Annibal across the Rhone, i. 230. The manner in which they fight, ii. 91.
Empire, best preserved by the same course of conduct by which it was obtained, ii. 300.
Epaminondas; his virtue, and that of Pelopidas, the cause from which Thebes derived all its glory, ii. 164. Conduct of Epaminondas compared in a particular instance with that of Annibal, 231.
Eperatus, elected prætor of the Achæans, i. 417. Bad effects of his want of capacity, ii. 34, 35.
Ephorus, the first who was engaged in writing a general history, ii. 37. His sentiment concerning music censured, i. 345. Mistaken in his judgment concerning the Cretan government, ii. 165, 167. His opinion with respect to the writers of history, 303.
Epidamnians surprised by the Illyrians, i. 111.

Epigenes, general in the army of Antiochus; his abilities expose him to the hatred of Hermias, ii. 46. Is removed from court, and destroyed by a contrivance of that minister, 56.
Epirots, defeated by the Illyrians, i. 107. Their ingratitude and imprudent conduct, 108. Act a dishonourable part in the beginning of the social war, 358.
Euclidas, brother of Cleomenes, his injudicious conduct in the battle of Selasia, i. 177.
Euphrates; sources and course of this river, ii. 261.
Euripides: beautiful apostrophe to peace, from one of the lost tragedies of that poet, ii. 364.
Euthydemus, having seized the government of Bactriana, is pursued by Antiochus, and defeated in battle, ii. 315. Is afterwards pardoned, and suffered to retain the title of king, 348.
Extraordinaries, a select body in the Roman army. Their particular duty, and place in the camp, ii. 146, 149.

Fabius, the historian, censured by Polybius, i. 15, 67. Mistaken with respect to the causes of the war with Annibal, 189.
Fabius, Quintus, is named dictator, i. 280. The wisdom of his sentiments in resolving not to risk a general battle, 282. Returns to Rome to assist in celebrating certain sacrifices, 289. Remains unmoved by the reproaches and censure of his citizens, 299. Delivers half the troops to Minucius, 299, 300. Advances to the assistance of that general, and saves the army from an entire defeat, 301. Forces the Romans to acknowledge his capacity and prudence, 302.
Falsehood, two kinds of it in history, ii. 355. To suppress facts in history is also a kind of falsehood, 357.
Flaminius, the Roman consul; his character and conduct, i. 271, 273, 274. Is defeated and slain in the battle of Thrasymene, 276.
Flaminius, his conferences with Philip concerning peace, ii. 448. Grants a truce of three months to that prince, 456. His dexterous management, and general character: was the first of the Romans who passed with an army into Greece, 458. Gains a victory against Philip in the battle of Cynoscephalæ, 464.
Fortitude and temperance the chief support of the Spartan government, ii. 169.
Fortune: men who are too stupid to discern the causes of things, ascribe those events to fortune which are the work of reason, ii. 268. To be fortunate deserves neither admiration nor praise, 265.
Funerals; manner of celebrating those of illustrious men at Rome, ii. 174.

Gaul, Cisalpine, described, i. 116—120.
Gauls, their manners and way of life, i. 120, 121. Summary account of their wars against the Romans, 121—139. Send some deputies to Annibal, 227, 228. Are impatient to join the Carthaginian army, but are forced for some time to remain quiet, 247. Join Annibal in great numbers after the defeat of Publius, 255. Flagrant act of perfidy committed by the Gauls that were in the Roman camp, 255.
Gauls, garrisoned in Phœnice, betray the town to the Illyrians, i. 106.
General: the personal qualities and knowledge necessary for the general of an army, ii. 237—245. Should never expose his person in little combats, or without necessity, 296. Should consider before a battle the consequences of a defeat, as well as the advantages of a victory, 319. The distribution of the plunder deserves most particularly the attention of a general, 282.
Geometry; use of it in determining the height of walls, or the size of camps and cities, ii. 244, 245.
Gesco, employed to settle the dispute between the Carthaginians and their mercenaries, i. 79. His pains and zeal, 81. Is thrown into prison by the soldiers, 82. and condemned to a cruel death, 91, 92.
Government: origin of political societies, ii. 123. Different kinds of government; manner in which they are formed; with their several changes, and alternate revolutions, 122—129. Every single kind of government breeds some evil in itself which causes its destruction, 130. Mixed government the most durable, but subject also to decay and ruin, 130, 178. In what manner changed, 178, 179. The government of the multitude, one of the six different kinds of government; rises out of democracy, and leads to monarchy, 122, 129, 178.
Greece; short view of the defects and excellences of its most celebrated states, ii. 163.
Greeks, entrusted with the public money, never discharge their duty with fidelity, ii. 177. Corrupted by presents distributed among them by the kings of Persia, 254. Invaded by the Gauls, and protected by the kings of Macedon, 255. Enslaved by the princes of the same house, 249. Manner in which they encamp, ii. 162. Are warned of the fatal consequences of bringing the Romans into Greece, 257—260.
Guards; different ones, how regulated in the Roman camp, ii. 152—155.

Hastati: number of soldiers so called in a Roman legion; how selected; their arms, and place in the camp, ii. 141, 149. Compose the first line in the usual order of battle, 382.

Hecatompylus, a city of Parthia; why so called, ii. 291.
Hellespont, the strait so named, ii. 439.
Heraclides; his origin and character, ii. 369.
Hermias, first minister of Antiochus, his disposition and conduct, ii. 46. His arts to maintain his power, 47. Removes Epigenes from court, and forms a contrivance to destroy him, 55, 56. Is killed with the consent of the king, 62, 63.
Hiero, is declared prætor of Syracuse, i. 9, 10. Contrives a stratagem to clear the army of the old mercenaries, defeats the Mamertines, and is declared king, 10, 11. Joins the Carthaginians, and is defeated by Appius, 12, 13. Enters into treaty with the Romans, 18. His character and general conduct, 9, 18.
Historian, his duty and proper office, i. 15, 16. Absurd accounts delivered by some historians concerning the march of Annibal, 231. Errors of the old historians should be viewed with indulgence, 245.
History, its excellence and use, i. 1, 42, 212. ii. 83. Manner in which history should be composed, i. 162, 163. General history, 214. Different kinds of history, ii. 224, 225. Ends to which it should be directed, 423. Truth the most essential part in historical composition, 355. Qualifications necessary to make a good historian, 366. Use and advantage of general history, 193.
Homer represents a consummate statesman and commander in the person of Ulysses, ii. 366, 240. Passages cited from that poet, 364, 365, 366, 401, 404, 405, 471.
Horatius, surnamed Cocles, devotes himself to certain death to save his country, ii. 175.

Iassus, in Asia, how situated; a wonderful story concerning the statue of Vesta in that city, ii. 434.
Illyria, when first invaded by the Romans, i. 103. Cause of that expedition, *ibid.*
Illyrians, gain possession of Phœnice, and defeat the Epirots in battle, i. 106. Make depredations on the Roman merchants, 109. Become masters of Corcyra, 112, 113. Lay siege to Epidamnus, and are forced by the Romans to raise the siege, 113.
Images of illustrious Romans preserved in their families, and for what purposes, ii. 174, 175.
Imilco, defends Lilybæum against the Romans, i. 50. Endeavours to set fire to the works of the besiegers, but is forced to retreat, 54. Makes a second attempt with success, 57.
Insubrian Gauls, in conjunction with the Boians and Gæsatæ, make war upon the Romans, i. 126. Are inclosed between

two armies, suffer an entire defeat, and submit to the Romans at discretion, 130—139.
Italy, the people of this country superior to those of Afric in bodily strength and courage, ii. 173.
Junius, the Roman consul, is attacked by a dreadful tempest, in which the whole Roman fleet was destroyed, i. 63, 64. Gains Erix by surprise, and maintains the war with great bravery against Amilcar, 64—67.
Justice: notions of just and unjust, how first raised in the human mind, ii. 124.

Knowledge: what kind requisite to the commander of an army, and how acquired, ii. 238. Great difference, in composing history, between knowledge derived from reading, and that which is drawn from personal inspection and enquiry, 365.

Lacedæmon, or Sparta, its form and situation described, ii. 25. Constitution of the Lacedæmonian government, 166—171.
Lacedæmonians, distracted by intestine tumults, i. 348, 361. Conclude an alliance with the Ætolians 364. Their condition and fortunes from the time of the battle of Leuctra, 416. Their territory wasted by Philip, ii. 22. Their treatment of a messenger sent to them by Xerxes to demand earth and water, with some other memorable instances of their ancient virtue, ii. 258—260. Are defeated by the Achæans in the battle of Mantinea, 325—333.
Ladders, method of determining the measure of them, ii. 244.
Lagoras, a Cretan in the army of Antiochus, forms a design for taking the city of Sardes, and succeeds in the attempt, ii. 185—189.
Laodice, wife of Achæus, is forced after his death to surrender the citadel of Sardes, ii. 210, 211.
Legion: among the Romans, four legions raised every year; the numbers of which a legion consists, and the different bodies of which each is composed; the soldiers and officers how chosen, ii. 140, 141.
Leontium in Sicily, its situation, ii. 181.
Leontius, general of the infantry under Philip, conspires with Apelles and Megaleas to betray his master, ii. 3. Defeats the enterprise upon Palæa, 5. His treacherous counsels, 6, 9. Raises a sedition among the soldiers, 28. Is imprisoned by order of the king, and punished with death, 31, 32.
Light-armed, in the Roman armies; their age, condition, and arms, ii. 141, 142.
Lilybæum besieged by the Romans, i. 49, 50.

Lissus; the city of that name, and the citadel, taken by Philip, ii. 200, 201.
Livius, the Roman commander in Tarentum; his conduct when Annibal had entered the city, ii. 218.
Locrians of Italy; some customs and traditions that are found among them, ii. 353.
Logbasis, a citizen of Selga; his treason and death, ii. 82—84.
Lutatius, the Roman consul, concludes a treaty with the Carthaginians, which puts an end to the war of Sicily, i. 71, 72.
Lyciscus, ambassador from the states of Acarnania to the Lacedæmonians; his speech upon that occasion, containing a defence of the conduct of the kings of Macedon, and an accusation of the Ætolians, ii. 251—260. His foresight of the fatal consequences of bringing the Romans into Greece, 57, 58.
Lycurgus, bribes the ephori, and is elected king of Sparta, i. 365. Offers battle to Philip, and is defeated, ii. 26. The first inventor of mixed government, composed of the three simple forms, 121, 130. Wonderful excellence of his laws, 168. One great defect in his frame of government, and the consequences of it, 169. Purpose for which he feigned an intercourse with the Pythian priestess, ii. 265.
Lyttus, a city of Crete, pillaged and destroyed, i. 385.

Macedon, the barrier of Greece against the invasions of barbarous nations, ii. 255.
Macedonian arms, and order of battle, compared with those of the Romans, ii. 469, 470. Character of the Macedonian soldiers, ii. 3.
Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, is defeated and killed by Philopœmen in the battle of Mantinea, ii. 326.
Machines invented by Archimedes when Syracuse was besieged by the Romans, ii. 195—197.
Mago, his defence of New Carthage against the Romans, ii. 276. Surrenders the citadel, 280.
Mamertines gain Messana by treachery, i. 8. Are defeated by the Syracusans, and implore the protection of the Romans, 10, 11.
Mandonius, a prince of Spain, withdraws his troops from the Carthaginians, and joins the Romans, ii. 299. Again leaves the Romans, 343. His wife addresses Scipio in favour of the female captives, 284.
Mantineans, subdued by the Achæans, i. 164. Their ingratitude and perfidy, 165.
Marcellus, Marcus, together with Appius, lays siege to Syracuse,

and is forced to desist from the attempt by the wonderful inventions of Archimedes, ii. 195—198.
Marches, order observed by the Romans in theirs, ii. 160.
Massanissa, king of the Numidians, recovers his paternal kingdom with the assistance of the Romans, and joins to it the dominions of Syphax, ii. 391.
Matho urges the Africans to revolt, i. 80. Attacks the Carthaginians in their intrenchments, 99. Engages in a general battle, is defeated and taken prisoner, 100.
Media, its situation and boundaries, ii. 49. The most powerful of the kingdoms of Asia, ii. 289.
Megaleas, minister of Philip, conspires with Apelles and Leontius to betray the king, ii. 3. Insults Aratus, and is condemned to pay a fine, 18, 19. Retires to Athens, 31. His death, 32.
Megalopolis taken and destroyed by Cleomenes, i. 161.
Megalopolitans, their fidelity and constancy, i. 169, 170.
Mercenaries in the pay of the Carthaginians, causes and beginning of their revolt, i. 75, 76. Destroy Gesco, their benefactor and chief friend, and exercise the most horrid cruelties, 92, 93. Are reduced to such extremity by famine, that they are forced to feed upon their prisoners and slaves, 97. Forty thousand of them are destroyed by Amilcar, 98. The rest, under the command of Matho, engage in a general battle, and are entirely defeated, 100.
Messenians, their territory invaded by the Ætolians, i. 327. Implore the assistance of the Achæan states, 327. Are received into the general confederacy, 339. Refuse to bear any part in the war which was undertaken chiefly for their defence, 358. Their conduct censured, *ibid.*
Minucius, master of the horse under Fabius, is dissatisfied with the conduct of the dictator, i. 283. Takes the command of the army in the absence of Fabius; and attacks Annibal in his camp with great success, 297, 298. Is declared dictator together with Fabius, 299. Encamps apart with one half of the troops, *ibid.* Is drawn into an action by Annibal, defeated, and saved by Fabius, 301.
Moderation, remarkable instance of the effect of that virtue in Aratus, ii. 200.
Molon, governor of Media, takes arms against Antiochus, ii. 48, 49. Defeats Xenœtas, 53. Is attacked by the king in person, and suffers an entire defeat, 59, 60.
Monarchy; the first, in natural order, of the six kinds of government, ii. 122. How formed, 123, 124. Changed into royalty, 124—126. In what manner states are brought back again to this original form, 128, 129.
Multitude: the multitude compared to the sea, ii. 344. The

government of the multitude, the last of the six kinds of government, rises out of democracy, and gives birth to monarchy, ii. 123, 129.
Music useful in states, i. 345. In what manner practised among the Arcadians, 345, 346. The neglect of this art the cause of the degeneracy of the people of Cynætha, 345, 347.

Nabis, tyrant of Sparta; his violence, and strange methods of cruelty, ii. 371.
Naravasus, a Numidian prince, joins Amilcar in the war against the mercenaries, i. 89.
Nicagoras, a Messenian; causes of his hatred against Cleomenes, ii. 42. Enters into a project for destroying that prince, 43.
Nicias, the Athenian, lost with all his army, through ignorance and a vain superstition, ii. 243.
Nicophanes, sent ambassador with Cercidas from the Megalopolitans to the court of Macedon, i. 154. Detail of reasoning by which they prevailed with Antigonus to assist the Achæans, 155.
Nobility, among the Locrians of Italy, derived from women, ii. 353.

Oaths of the Roman soldiers at the time of their enrolment, and in the camp, ii. 141, 152. Great force of the obligation of an oath among the Romans, and effect of it in the public administration of the state, 177. In what manner a man was punished by the senate, who had endeavoured to elude his oath by an equivocal distinction, 180.
Œniadæ, its situation described, i. 397.
Officers in the Roman army, manner in which they are appointed, ii. 143.
Oligarchy springs from aristocracy, and gives birth to democracy, ii. 122, 128.
Olympiad, just measure of the term so called, ii. 224.
Olympic Games, instituted by Hercules, and with what intention, ii. 364.
Oracle, prediction of an ancient one concerning Tarentum, ii. 216.

Palæa, the chief town of Cephallenia, besieged by Philip, ii. 5.
Palisade, excellence of the Roman above that of the Greeks, ii. 459.
Parthia, its desert naturally destitute of water; by what method it was supplied, ii. 290, 291.
Peace, some topics in its praise, ii. 364.
Pednelissians, besieged by the Selgians, ii. 79.

Pelopidas, in conjunction with Epaminondas, raised the glory of Thebes, ii. 164. Remarkable instance of his imprudence, 191.

Peloponnesus, character and natural disposition of the people of that country, ii. 113.

People, the part allotted to them in the Roman government, ii. 134. In what manner they were controlled by the other branches of the constitution, 136. The people at Carthage also had certain powers, 172. In the time of Annibal, the latter had drawn to themselves the greatest share in the government; effect of that usurpation, *ibid.*

Phæneas, prætor of the Ætolians; his behaviour in the conferences between Philip and Flaminius, ii. 449, 450, 451.

Pharæans, in conjunction with the people of Dyme and Tritæa, resolve to withhold their contributions to the war, i. 391. Their conduct censured, 392.

Philemenus, a citizen of Tarentum, assists Annibal in taking the city by surprise, ii. 211.

Philinus, the historian; his partiality remarked, i. 15.

Philip, father of Alexander, his moderation and prudent conduct after the battle of Chæronea, ii. 12.

Philip, son of Demetrius, and father of Perseus, takes possession of the kingdom upon the death of Antigonus, i. 180. His wise answer to the deputies from Lacedæmon, 350. In conjunction with the confederate states of Greece, declares war against the Ætolians, 352, 353. Advances through Thessaly and Epirus, and lays siege to Ambracus, 392, 393. Becomes master of Pæanium and Œniadæ, 397. Is forced to return in haste to defend his own kingdom against the Dardanians, 397. Begins his march a second time in winter, and arrives at Corinth before the people of Peloponnesus had any notice of his approach, 399. Defeats a body of Eleans, and lays siege to Psophis, 401, 402. Ravages the Elean territory, 406. Gains the fortress called Thalamæ, 408. Opposes a base design of Apelles, his chief minister, 409. His noble qualities, 410. Conquers the province of Triphylia, 411, 414. Is misled by the bad counsels of Apelles, 417. Is convinced of his error, and courts the favour of Aratus, ii. 2. Advances into Ætolia, and pillages the place called Thermum, 9, 10. The violence of his conduct upon this occasion censured, 11. Ravages Laconia, 23. Defeats Lycurgus, and retreats with safety, 26—28. Forms the siege of Thebes in Phthiotis, 105. Receives the news of the success of Annibal against the Romans, and resolves to put an end to the war, and take part in the affairs of Italy, 108, 115. Concludes a treaty with Annibal, 182. Employs Taurion to poison Aratus, 199. Takes the city and citadel of Lissus, 200, 201. His works at the siege of Echinus, 260.

His preparations for the war against Attalus and the Romans, 306. Conquers the Cianians, and destroys their city, 411. Is defeated in a sea engagement by Attalus and the Rhodians, 425. Renders himself master of Prinassus by a stratagem, 434. Lays siege to Abydus, 438, 439. His conferences with Flaminius, and the allies of Greece, 447. Sends ambassadors to Rome, but without effect, 456. Is defeated by Flaminius in the battle of Cynoscephalæ, 465. Character and conduct of this prince, 410, 437, 476.

Philopœmen, his wise conduct in the battle of Selasia, i. 176. Defeats and kills Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, in the battle of Mantinea, ii. 326. His character, 324, 325.

Phœnice, the chief city of Epirus, taken by the Illyrians, i. 107.

Phylarchus, the historian, his inaccuracy and want of judgment, i. 162.

Picenum, lands of, divided among the Romans, i. 125. Consequences of that measure, *ibid.*

Placentia first settled by the Romans, 222.

Plato, his republic not to be taken into a comparison with real systems, ii. 168.

Policy, dark and treacherous, unworthy of a king, ii. 368.

Polybius undertook many painful voyages, in order to gain a just knowledge of the places mentioned in his history, i. 233. The transactions related by him are those which he had either seen, or received from eye-witnesses, 320. Design, plan, and peculiar excellence of his work, i. 2, 181. ii. 35. Received his accounts of Publius Scipio from Lælius, his most intimate companion and friend, 265, 266. Visited and examined the places which he describes, 275. Perfected a method invented by Cleonexus, for conveying signals, 310. His reasons for writing political history in preference to every other kind, 225. His judgment concerning the use of prodigies or wonderful stories, 435. His censure of Timæus, the historian, 350, 351, 356, 365. His opinion concerning the requisite qualifications for writing history, 367.

Pontus, causes of its constant flow, i. 369. Likely in the course of time to be filled with earth, 370.

Principes, in the Roman armies; their age, and the manner in which they are armed, ii. 141, 143.

Prusias, his war against the Byzantines, i. 380.

Ptolemy Philopator, his character and conduct, ii. 38, 69. Defeats Antiochus in the battle of Raphia, 92.

Ptolemy the son of Philopator, taken out of the hands of Agathocles, to whose guardianship he had been left by his father, ii. 418. Proclaimed king before the customary age, 482.

Spoiled of his dominions by Antiochus and Philip, and afterwards reinstated by the Romans, 409.
Publius Cornelius, is sent with an army into Spain, i. 222. Advances along the banks of the Rhone with design to engage the enemy, 229. Returns again to his ships, and steers his course back to Italy, 234. Lands at Pisæ, and, taking his route through Tyrrhenia, passes the river Po, and hastens to meet the Carthaginians, 242, 277. Harangues the troops, 251. Is defeated in an engagement between the cavalry, repasses the Po, and encamps near Placentia, 252—255. Decamps again in the night, and retreats towards the Trebia, 256. Endeavours to dissuade his colleague from engaging in a general battle, 260. Is sent again into Spain, 292.
Punishments, civil and military ones among the Romans, ii. 134, 157. See Rewards.

Quæstor, his place in the Roman camp, ii. 150. Obliged to draw from the public treasures whatever sums are directed by the consuls, 133.

Raphia, battle near that city between Ptolemy and Antiochus, ii. 89.
Regulus, the Roman consul, defeats the Carthaginians in a sea engagement, and steers his course towards Afric, i. 32—34. His success against the enemy, 36. Invites the Carthaginians to a treaty, 37. His haughtiness, 38. Is defeated by Xantippus, and taken prisoner, 40, 41.
Republic; the Roman republic difficult to be explained, ii. 121. Was a mixed government, composed of the three simple forms, 131, 132. Powers allotted to each part, and their reciprocal control, 132, 138. Resembled the governments of Carthage and Sparta, 172. Was at the highest point of perfection at the time of the war of Annibal, 172. Destruction of it foretold, 178.
Rewards and punishments the bands of society: how dispensed among the Romans, ii. 134. Rewards allotted to the Roman soldiers that distinguished themselves in action, 158, 159.
Rhodians, declare war against the Byzantines, i. 378. Their prudence and dexterous conduct when a great part of their city had been destroyed by an earthquake, ii. 95. In conjunction with Attalus, defeat Philip in a sea engagement, 425.
Rhone, sources and course of that river, i. 231.
Romans, short view of their progress after their city had been taken by the Gauls, i. 7. Punish a body of their own soldiers who had gained possession of Rhegium by treachery, 9. Resolve to send assistance to the Mamertines, and pass

for the first time into Sicily, 12. Their success, 13. Conclude an alliance with Hiero, 18. Become masters of Agrigentum, 22. Resolve to oppose the Carthaginians upon the sea, 24. Obtain a great naval victory, 27. Defeat the enemy in a second sea-engagement, and make a descent upon the coast of Afric, *33*, *34*. Their success, *35*. Are defeated by Xantippus, 40. Gain another naval victory, 43. Are attacked by a dreadful tempest, in which the greatest part of their vessels were destroyed, *ibid.* Equip another fleet of 220 ships in three months' time, 45. Are again attacked by a storm, and forced to lay aside all attempts upon the sea, 46. Defeat the Carthaginians in an engagement near Panormus, 47. Equip another fleet, 48. Lay siege to Lilybæum, 50. Are defeated by Adherbal in a sea-engagement, 59. Are attacked by another tempest, in which their whole naval strength was at once destroyed, 63. Maintain the war with great firmness against Amilcar, 65, 66. Equip another fleet by the means of a private contribution among the citizens, 68. Gain a great naval victory, and force the Carthaginians to sue for peace, 71, 72. Their conduct towards the Carthaginians during the war against the mercenaries, 96. Resolve to take possession of Sardinia, 101. Causes of their expedition into Illyria, 109. Agree to a peace with Teuta; and, for the first time, send an embassy into Greece, 115. Conclude a treaty with Asdrubal, and turn their arms against the Gauls, 116. Short account of their wars against that people, 121—139. Send some deputies to Annibal in Spain; and afterwards some ambassadors to Carthage, to demand that that general should be delivered to them, 196, 203. Declare war against the Carthaginians, 215. Resolve to send an army into Spain under the command of Publius, and another, under Tiberius, into Afric, 222. Recal Tiberius, upon notice that Annibal had entered Italy, 248. Their first engagement with the Carthaginians near the Ticinus, 253. Are defeated in the battles of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ, 262, 274, 313. Some peculiarities in their character remarked, 23, 44, 267, 310. Comparison of the manners and institutions of the Romans with those of the Carthaginians, ii. 172—177. Remarkable for adopting the customs of other countries when they were preferable to their own, 145. Their constancy and great designs, 193. Their wrong policy in removing into their own country the ornaments of the cities which they conquered, 234. Their custom when they have taken a city by storm, 279; and in the division of the booty, 280. Observation on their policy with respect to Greece, 288.

Rome: the Roman constitution not formed by foresight, but occasionally improved, ii. 130. It was peculiarly fitted for

making conquests, 171. The city preserved by a fortunate accident, upon the sudden approach of Annibal with his army, 229. See Republic.
Royalty, one of the simple forms of government, rises out of monarchy; how changed, ii. 122, 124, 126.

Sackbut; description of a military machine so called, ii. 195.
Saguntum, besieged by Annibal, and taken, i. 198.
Sardes, in what manner taken by Antiochus after a long siege, ii. 185.
Sardinia, lost to the Carthaginians, i. 90. Seized by the Romans, 101.
Scerdilaidas, joins his forces with the Ætolians against the Achæans, i. 340. Deserts the Ætolians, and concludes a treaty with Philip, 356. The motives of his conduct, *ibid.* Is dissatisfied with Philip, and commits hostilities against that prince, ii. 101, 107.
Science; some parts of science necessary for the commander of an army, ii. 238—245.
Scipio, Publius; the first conqueror of Carthage: at the age of seventeen saves the life of his father in a battle, ii. 266. Is chosen Ædile, 267. Undertakes the war in Spain, 270. Takes New Carthage by storm, 276. Instances of his moderation and continence, 282, 284. Draws the chief of the princes of Spain to the Roman party, 298, 299. Defeats Asdrubal in battle, 302. His greatness in rejecting the title of king, 304. Defeats Asdrubal, the son of Gesco, 334. Punishes a sedition in the Roman army, 339. Marches against Andobalis, who had revolted, defeats him in battle, and finishes the war in Spain, 345. His exploits afterwards in Afric: forms the design of setting fire to the two camps of Asdrubal and Syphax, 373. Manner in which it was carried into execution, 375. Defeats the Carthaginians afterwards in another battle, 382. Consents to a treaty, which was perfidiously broken by the Carthaginians; behaviour of Scipio upon that occasion, 387. Dismisses some spies that were taken in his camp; and consents to an interview with Annibal, who had been recalled from Italy, 392, 393. Gains a complete victory against that general in the battle of Zama, 397—404. Dictates the conditions of peace, which are accepted by the Carthaginians, 405. Returns to Rome, and enters the city in triumph, 436. His great abilities and character falsely represented by the writers of his life, 264, 268, 272.
Scopas, is prevailed on by Dorimachus to make war upon the Messenians, i. 325. Is chosen prætor of the Ætolians, 354. Makes incursions into Macedon, 393. His impiety, *ibid.* Is seized and put to death at Alexandria, ii. 479.

Sedition; manner in which Scipio suppressed one in the Roman army, ii. 339.
Seleucia, its situation described, ii. 66. Stormed by Antiochus, 67.
Selgians, lay siege to Pednelissus, ii. 80. Are defeated by Garsyeris, and besieged in their own city, 81. Their brave defence, 84.
Senate; powers allotted to the senate in the Roman constitution, ii. 133. The senate of Sparta, how composed; and use of it in the government, 130.
Sicily, its form and situation described, i. 49. Relinquished by the Carthaginians, 71.
Siege of Syracuse by the Romans, ii. 194. Of Capua, 226. Of Echinus by Philip, 260.
Signals, different methods of conveying them in war, ii. 308—313.
Sinopeans, are attacked by Mithridates, i. 386.
Social War, its causes and commencement, i. 321, 322, 352.
Society: origin of political societies, ii. 123.
Soldiers; different bodies of them in the Roman armies, how chosen; their arms, pay, and discipline, ii. 139, 160.
Sosibius, minister of Ptolemy; motives of his conduct towards Cleomenes, ii. 39, 40. His project to destroy that prince, 42. His wise conduct in the management of the war against Antiochus, 69.
Spaniards leave the party of the Carthaginians and join the Romans, ii. 298—302. Again revolt from the Romans, and are conquered by Scipio in a set battle, 345.
Sparta. See Lacedæmon.
Spendius, one of the chiefs in the revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries, i. 80. Is defeated in an engagement with Amilcar, and saves himself by flight, 90. Goes to the Carthaginian camp to treat of peace, is seized, and put to death, 98, 99.
Stratagem most frequently used in the ancient wars, ii. 236. Precautions requisite on such occasions, 237.
Superstition; great use made of it in the Roman government, ii. 177.
Swine bred in great numbers in Italy: manner in which they are conducted and fed, ii. 351, 352.
Syphax, the Massæsylian king, uses all his endeavours to conclude a peace between the Carthaginians and the Romans, ii. 374. Is deceived by Scipio, who sets fire to his camp in the night, and destroys all his army, 378. Is prevailed on by his young wife, the daughter of Asdrubal, to draw together some new forces, 381. Is defeated, and flies into his own kingdom, 383. Is stripped of all his dominions; and, having been sent as a captive to Rome, is led along in the triumph of Scipio, and dies afterwards in prison, 391, 436.

Syracuse; great strength of this city, and siege of it by the Romans, ii. 194.

Tarentum: manner in which it was taken by Annibal, ii. 211. Advantages of this city with respect to commerce, 263.
Taurion entrusted by Philip with the affairs of Peloponnesus: employed by that prince to poison Aratus, ii. 199.
Testimony: soldiers, among the Romans, convicted of giving false testimony, in what manner punished, ii. 157.
Teuta, queen of Illyria, kills a Roman ambassador, i. 110. Is attacked in her dominions by the Romans, and obliged to sue for peace, 114, 115.
Thebes: constitution of its government, and manners of the people, ii. 163—166.
Themistocles raised the glory of Athens to its greatest height, ii. 164.
Theodotus, governor of Cœle-Syria, deserts the service of Ptolemy, and enters into treaty with Antiochus, ii. 44. Forms a bold attempt against the life of Ptolemy, 88.
Theophiliscus, commander of the Rhodian fleet in an engagement against Philip: his extraordinary courage, and death, ii. 429, 432.
Theopompus, passage cited from his history, ii. 366.
Thrasymene, battle of, i. 275.
Timæus, the historian; false in his accounts of Afric, Corsica, and the Locrians of Italy, ii. 350. Censured for his malignity and want of decency, 355. Was destitute of the qualifications requisite for writing history, 367.
Treaties; account of all those concluded between Rome and Carthage to the time of Annibal, i. 204—209. Form of the treaty between Annibal and Philip, ii. 182. Conditions of the treaty between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which put an end to the war of Annibal, 406.
Trebia, battle of, i. 264.
Triarii, in the Roman legions; their age, arms, and place in the camp, ii. 141, 143, 148.
Tribunes of the people; their great power in the Roman government, ii. 136. Military tribunes, how chosen, 139.
Truth the most essential thing in history, ii. 355. Truth, however opposed, is sure to triumph in the end over falsehood, 370.
Tyrrhenians, first possessed that part of Italy which was afterwards inhabited by the Gauls, i. 120.

Varro, Caius Terentius, is chosen consul, i. 302. Resolves, in opposition to the judgment of Æmilius, to engage in a general action, 307. His disposition in the battle of Cannæ, 311. Escapes to Venusia, 315.

Victory; to make a good use of it, much more difficult than to conquer, ii. 299, 300.
Virgin, among the Locrians of Italy, led the processions in the sacrifices, ii. 354.
Utica, besieged by the Carthaginian mercenaries, i. 84. Joins the party of the rebels, 95. Is forced to surrender to the Carthaginians at discretion, 100.

War always declared beforehand by the Achæans and the Romans, ii. 369. War, in its progress and effects, compared to a fire, 320, 321.
Watch for the night, how regulated in the Roman camp, ii. 155.

Xantippus, a Lacedæmonian, arrives at Carthage, and is entrusted with the care of the army, i. 38. Defeats the Romans, 40. After having saved the Carthaginians from destruction, returns to Greece, 42. His prudence in this respect commended, *ibid.*
Xenœtas, general of Antiochus, is sent to command in the expedition against Molon, ii. 50. Is surprised in his camp by the rebels, and destroyed with the greatest part of his army, 53.

Zaleucus; method which he prescribed, if the intention of any of his laws should be brought into dispute, ii. 357.
Zama. Battle near that place between Annibal and Scipio, ii 397.

THE END.

BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

BINDING SLOT: MAR - 8 1976

D
58
P713
1823
v.2
cop.2

Polybius
The general history of
Polybius [5th ed.]

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY